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Conceptual and Empirical Analysis of Visitors' Relationship to Resource

CONCEPTUAL AND EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF VISITORS' RELATIONSHIP TO RESOURCE

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CONTENTS

1. Relationship to Resource: Perceptual Orientations During Recreational Engagements. Paper presented at the Fourth North American Symposium on Society and Resource Management, Madison, WI, May 17-20, 1992.

2. Perceptual Experience During Recreational Engagements. Draft working paper.

3. Consumer-Object Relations: An Experiential Perspective. Draft working paper.

4. A Transactional Approach to Characterizing Relationship to Resource. Paper presented at the 1991 NRPA Symposium, Baltimore, MD, October 19,1991.

5. Identity and the Experience of Wilderness: Analysis of Experience Narratives from Australia and the U.S. Paper presented at the Fifth World Wilderness Conference, Tromso, Norway, September 26-October 2, 1993.

Appendix

Ph.D. Dissertation by Michael E. Patterson. 1993. The normative structure of science, hermeneutics, and leisure experience. 287p. ~ cataloged separate

Introduction

An emerging approach to understanding experience quality and the factors that influence quality in natural settings is to understand the visitor's relationship to wilderness and specific wilderness areas. Particularly important to this notion of relationship to place is the extent of bonding or attachment visitors feel towards wilderness. This report represents a collection of working papers and a Ph.D. dissertation aimed at advancing the understanding of the place attachment process and modes of experiencing natural settings. The papers describe: (1) reviews of relevant literature on relationship to place, mode of experience, and related constructs, and (2) empirical analyses of existing relationship to place data. Each working paper is briefly described below.

Objective One

The paper Perceptual Experiences During Recreational Engagements is a literature review paper examining psychological theory pertaining to how people approach, perceive, and experience objects in natural settings. Drawing on a number of theorists, this paper identifies three primary modes of perception in the literature: instrumental, experiential, and object centered.

The paper Consumer-Object Relations: An Experiential Perspective reviews literature primarily from consumer behavior research that has sought to understand the relationship between consumers and the products and services they purchase. The paper contrasts two fundamentally different views of human nature pertaining to the concept of well-being. The instrumental perspective characterizes humans as goal-directed, analytical beings who employ objects as a means of achieving desired end states. In contrast, the experiential perspective views humans as experiential beings who are drawn to objects for their symbolic and affective qualities. The relationship to objects (resources) implied by most recreation research has been instrumental. The paper concludes by pointing out that neither approach alone is adequate for describing relationships to resources.

Objective Two

The paper A Transactional Approach to Characterizing Relationship to Resource is an empirical examination of measures of place attachment and mode of experience of wilderness visitors. Mode of experience and place attachment measures are used in a discriminant analysis of wilderness use and user characteristics including, reason for visit, primary activity, length of stay, group size and composition, local vs. nonlocal, substitution, and sensitivity to encounters.

Based on a Ph.D. dissertation supported by the project, a paper presented at the Fifth World Wilderness Congress in Tromsø, Norway is included. The paper Identity and the Experience of Wilderness, describes a hermeneutic analysis of wilderness experiences based on narrative descriptions. The objectives of the analysis were (1) to identify the way that respondents express their identity through the interview and how this is related to their "construction" and experience of the wilderness setting and (2) identify the current "personal project" respondents were engaged in and how this project is related both to their "claimed" identity and their "construction" and experience of wilderness settings.

The dissertation, The Normative Structure of Science, Hermeneutics, and Leisure Experience, examines the philosophical assumptions underlying research addressing relationship to resource. The dissertation uses a hermeneutic methodology for interpreting narrative descriptions of wilderness experiences. The dissertation concludes that the philosophy of science underlying hermeneutic research is particularly well suited for studying phenomena that are unstructured, highly contextual, unpredictable, and characterized by meaning that changes across time and individuals; e. g., behavior linked to expressive, spiritual, and symbolic dimensions of relationships to resources.

Relationship to Resource: Perceptual Orientations During Recreational Engagements

Abstract submitted to The Fourth North American Symposium on Society and Resource Management

Theme Session: Understanding Outdoor Recreation Behavior

Topical Area: The Individual Actor

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Relationship to Resource: Perceptual Orientations During Recreational Engagements

Introduction

Throughout the social sciences, human nature has been viewed from two contrasting perspectives grounded in different philosophies regarding the source of happiness and well-being (Hirschman 1985, Omodei and Wearing 1990). The first outlook (instrumental) maintains that happiness arises when an unmet need or desired goal is attained. The alternative perspective (experiential) contends that happiness and well-being emanate directly from the nature of activity rather than from achieving end states (Diener 1984). Although these perspectives are not incompatible, they are conceptually distinct and typically have not been integrated (Diener 1984, Omodei and Wearing 1990). Because they emphasize different aspects of human nature, selecting one perspective over the other has implications for the subsequent description of human-object relations.

Leisure research focusing on the relationship between wildland recreationists and the settings they use has been dominated by the instrumental perspective (e.g. expectancy-value approaches, ROS). Although experiential approaches have be examined (most notably Csikszentmihalyi's concept of flow), they are just beginning to be explored and developed in leisure research. This paper explores relationship to resource by examining how people approach and perceive the setting during recreational engagements. Although this approach is predominantly experiential in nature, it attempts to integrate concepts inherent to the instrumental perspective.

Instrumental vs. Experiential Perspectives

With respect to research exploring the relationship between recreationists and the resources they use, two important differences between instrumental and experiential perspectives are task definition and mental representation of settings. Task definition refers both to the researcher's and recreationist's task orientations. The major emphasis of instrumentally oriented research is on pre- and post-choice evaluations by rational, goal-directed problem solvers who search the external environment and memory for information, carefully weigh evidence, and reach decisions on the basis of relatively objective criteria (Hirschman 1985). In contrast, experiential research depicts humans as experiential beings who are receptive to emotional, sensory, and imaginal events. Research focuses on the dynamics of the actual experience and subjective aspects of consciousness including symbolic meanings and emotional responses (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982).

A second important difference between the instrumental and experiential perspectives revolves around the mental representation of settings. The instrumental perspective views settings as a set of discrete attributes that can be decomposed, compared, and evaluated in a heuristic fashion (Batra 1986, Hirschman 1985, Hirschman and Holbrook 1982). The experiential perspective views settings as integrated wholes, sees attempts to decompose settings into component attributes as artificial, and emphasizes subjective concepts such as attachment and symbolic and emotional meanings (Batra 1986, Hirschman 1985).

Perceptual Orientation

Most research on perception has dealt with physiological functioning and the amount of stimulation necessary for threshold discrimination and response (Schachtel 1959, Wertz 1989). How people actually approach, perceive, and experience objects in natural settings has received far less attention (Wertz 1989). However, conceptual development of this topic by Maslow (1968), Schachtel (1959), and Tellegen (1981) suggests that recreationists may approach objects from three different orientations: instrumental, experiential, or object centered.

An instrumental orientation corresponds closely to the instrumental perspective on well-being. It emphasizes the recreationist's needs and is characterized by relatively effortful decision making and goal directed behavior (Tellegen 1981, Wertz 1989). Those with this orientation are not receptive to the object itself, rather objects are simply signals related to some need or goal (Schachtel 1959). The experiential orientation is defined by Tellegen (1981:222) as "a state of receptivity or openness to undergo whatever experiential events, sensory or imaginal, that may occur." Under this perceptual orientation, attention is directed inward with an emphasis on one's moods, sensations, and imagination rather than on the object itself. Finally, in object centered perception, objects are perceived independently of the observer's goals. That is, objects are an end in themselves. According to Schachtel (1959), the object centered observer attempts to know or grasp an object mentally and is alert to the structure and quality of objects. Aesthetic appreciation of objects is one example of object centered perception.

Conclusion

The rationale for studying perceptual orientation is based on the belief that settings can offer different experiences depending on which aspects of the context stand out and which recede into the background (Valle and King 1978). In an attempt to integrate aspects of the instrumental and experiential perspectives, three orientations were proposed: instrumental, experiential, and object centered. Strategies for studying the different orientations will be discussed.

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PERCEPTUAL EXPERIENCE DURING RECREATIONAL ENGAGEMENTS

Michael E. Patterson

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PROBLEM STATEMENT

Perception is a central issue to the management of natural environments for leisure experiences. On a philosophical level, leisure is conceptualized as a state of mind and important dimensions of leisure experience such as scenic beauty and wilderness are thought to be defined on the basis of human perception (Mannell and Iso-Ahola 1987, Nash 1990). From a legal perspective, several laws, explicitly or implicitly, mandate that federal agencies address the topic of perception. For example, the National Environmental Policy Act (PL91-190) requires the federal government to consider the effects of its activities on the aesthetic and cultural pleasantness of surroundings. Another example is the Wilderness Act (PL88-577) which requires that wilderness areas "generally appear to have been primarily affected by the forces of nature, with the imprint of man's work substantially unnoticeable." The meaning of terms such as "generally", "primarily", and "substantially", which are not spelled out in the act, must be defined on the basis of human perception. From a management standpoint, agencies responsible for administrating natural areas are implementing planning frameworks such as Visitor Impact Management (Graefe et al. 1986) and Limits of Acceptable change (Stankey et al. 1985) to protect both the resource and the visitor experience. Central to these frameworks are measurable standards specifying acceptable resource conditions (Stankey et al. 1990). Ultimately these standards are based on value judgments that are closely linked to visitor perceptions of the leisure resource. Similarly, efforts to assess the quality of recreational opportunities are linked to perception also. In outdoor recreation management, quality assessments usually have been based either directly on visitors' perceptions of environmental features or on the satisfaction model (Brown 1989). Underlying the satisfaction model is the assumption that visitors are rational, goal directed problem solvers who perceive recreational environments as a set of discrete attributes that can be decomposed, compared, and evaluated in a heuristic fashion (Patterson and Williams 1992).

While the issue of perception has not been ignored in leisure research, little is known about the actual nature of perceptual processes during ongoing leisure engagements. For example, classical perceptual psychology has provided much of the basis for research in aesthetic preferences (e.g Daniel and Boster's (1976) Scenic Beauty Estimation method is grounded in psychophysics and Signal Detection Theory). The perceptual methodology used in this research is based largely on respondents' ratings of slides or photographs presented in

a laboratory setting. While a number of empirical studies have indicated that aesthetic perceptions of high quality, color photographs/slides are highly correlated with perceptions by panels of judges "in the field" (e.g., Daniel and Boster 1976, Shuttelworth 1980, Zube et al. 1975), no one has demonstrated that the perceptions during artificial field visits adequately simulate perceptions occurring during actual recreational experiences.

In fact, a study by Brown et al. (1989) raises questions about how well earlier field studies actually represent perception "in the field." In Brown et al.'s study, direct ratings and rankings of scenic beauty were consistently higher than ratings of the same areas represented by photographs. Brown et al. suggested that the discrepancy between their findings and earlier conclusions regarding the similarity of photograph/field judgments may have been the result of differences in the nature of the populations sampled. Unlike previous studies (which had used panels of judges without personal ties to the site), Brown et al. interviewed respondents who chose to camp at the study sites. Thus, it is possible that personal involvement with and attachment to the site influenced aesthetic perception.

In a vein similar to the aesthetic perception studies described above, some researchers have attempted to address the issue of establishing acceptable resource standards by having visitors rate various indicators of social and resource conditions with regard to their influence in defining the quality of leisure experiences (e.g., Roggenbuck et al. 1993). Again, however, it is not clear if the responses obtained from a survey adequately represent perceptual responses occurring during the lived experience of leisure. For example, research in social psychology suggests that whether or not people attend a stimulus depends on its vividness and salience (Fiske and Taylor 1984). Vividness is an inherent property of the stimulus. A stimulus is vivid when it is emotionally interesting; concrete and image provoking; and proximate in a sensory, temporal, or spatial way. Salience, on the other hand, is not entirely a property of the stimulus. Rather, a stimulus is salient relative to its context. For instance, a stimulus can be salient by dominating the visual field, by contrasting markedly with the immediate surroundings, or by contradicting prior expectations. Additionally, a stimulus can be made salient by instructions directing people to focus their attention in a particular way.

Thus, the issues of vividness and salience need to be considered. How well do written depictions of impacts mimic the vividness of impacts as encountered and perceived during the actual leisure experience? Is

salience unaffected by the survey format, or do instructions accompanying the surveys change the context and focus of attention to the extent that responses are no longer representative of perception as it occurs in the wild. Since a key criteria for establishing standards is a known relationship between impact parameters and the quality or character of the leisure experience (Shelby and Heberlein 1984), the answers to the above questions are important for establishing the validity of standards established through these research techniques. The importance of this issue is highlighted by the small body of research regarding this topic. These studies suggest that visitors have limited perception of impacts and that there is little relationship between amount of impact and level of visitor satisfaction (Marion and Lime 1986, Cole 1990).

A third domain of leisure inquiry that is associated with the topic of perception is the "experience-based" approach to recreation. However, although this approach defines recreation as an experience (Driver and Tocher 1970), research following this tradition has not focused on the individual's actual experiences during recreational engagements. Rather, the focus has been on anticipated outcomes or cognitive judgments about the outcomes actually received (Mannell and Iso-Ahola 1987). Thus, while this body of research suggests that people often recreate "to enjoy nature", it does not provide any insight with regard to the process by which individuals attend to and perceive nature during the recreational engagement.

On the other hand, Csikszentmihalyi's (1975) work on flow experiences during leisure does begin to address the issue of perceptual focus. However, his concept of flow represents a specialized case of perceptual experience. If possible, it would be desirable to develop a more universal model of the perceptual process during recreational engagements.

Finally, two recent research programs (Talbot and Kaplan 1986, Scherl 1990) have addressed the issue of perception during structured wilderness programs (an Outdoor Challenge Program in Michigan and an Australian Adult Outward Bound Program, respectively) using similar methodologies (analysis of journals and log books). However, these studies yielded differing results with respect to the nature of the perceptual experience (Roggenbuck 1991). For example, Kaplan and Talbot found that participants displayed an increasing tendency to notice and appreciate the details of the natural environment (e.g., creaking trees and ripples in the water) while in Scherl's study, the physical environment was "taken for granted" and "seldom acknowledged as

impactful" (p. 17). Also, Talbot and Kaplan's respondents described a feeling of comfort and harmony with nature while Scherl's respondents mentioned feelings of discomfort more frequently than any other feeling state. As a result, additional research regarding perceptual experience is necessary to help understand and explain the discrepant results.

In summary, although perception is a central aspect of leisure experience in natural environments, the leisure discipline currently lacks a description of the nature of perceptual processes occurring during the immediate experience of leisure. Such an account is necessary for a variety of reasons: it will provide insight into how people enjoy nature and therefore will help define the important dimensions of natural environments, it will provide a sounder basis for describing visitors' perceptions of impacts during recreational experiences, and it will help determine whether or not responses obtained from traditional laboratory and survey formats represent significant deviations from perception during the actual leisure experience. The purposes of this paper are to propose a conceptual model of perception that can be used to help initiate research addressing these topics and to outline initial steps in a research program designed to explore this issue.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The term perception, as used in this paper, refers to how recreationists experience the setting or "the process ... whereby the surrounding world emerges as meaningful" (McConville 1978:102). Defined in this manner, perception is conceptualized as having two inter-related dimensions: (1) process and focus of attention and (2) modes of consciousness and perception. These dimensions are explored in the following sections.

Process and Focus of Attention

The classical, natural science approach to perception in psychology takes an atomistic approach to describing perceptual experience (Wertz 1983). This approach attempts to reduce perception to the smallest possible units of sense datum and then isolates one aspect of perception as a dependent variable to be studied (McConville 1978, Wertz 1983). However, in everyday experience, "it is not the single isolated stimulus that is given to us, but the world" (Bolton 1982: 2). On the other hand, attention is a limited capacity resource,

recreationists can only perceive a fraction of what actually exists in the environment (Hirschman 1985). Thus by fragmenting the perceptual process, the atomistic approach artificially removes it from the complexity of everyday life (Wertz 1983). What is needed in leisure research is a model suitable for describing perceptual processes occurring in natural settings.

An apt analogy is one used by existential phenomenologists to describe perceptual experience: the figure/ground metaphor. This metaphor refers to the idea that certain features of the setting stand out while others recede into the background (Thompson et al. 1989). What stands out as figural and what recedes into the background depends on both the nature of the recreationist (goals, modes of consciousness, expectations, memory, etc.) and what is available in the immediate environmental setting. Perception is seen as a transactional relationship between the perceiver and the environment.

Wertz (1982) builds on the figure/ground metaphor to describe the perceptual experience of everyday events. In his account, three aspects form the background from which recreationists can differentiate a foreground. These include the "temporally retained past" (e.g., memories), the "temporally protended future" (e.g., anticipations), and the "spatially present." The temporal aspects suggest that not all human projects require a detailed apprehension of the surrounding environment. In these instances, perception itself may recede into the background of mental life. Examples of this include individuals who are engrossed in thought or who are daydreaming about the past or future.

On the other hand, many human projects (e.g., aesthetic appreciation, fishing, rock climbing) do require that perception of what is spatially present come to the forefront of mental awareness. The spatially present is determined by the environment. However, due to limited attentional capacity, only certain aspects of the immediate environment will be brought into focus. The central (thematic) focus or foreground is based on those features most closely related to the recreationist's project. Objects that are relevant to, but not directly related to the foreground (e.g., presence of other recreationists), may also be perceived and responded to. Beyond this is a layer of objects that, although actually perceived, are "not singled out in any way" (p. 171). What remains is the realm of objects that are potentially perceivable, but remain unattended.

Wertz points out that even objects that are the central focus of attention are only partially perceived.

Some aspects of the object are highlighted while others are ignored or taken for granted. Some features of the object may be imagined or assumed. Other aspects of the object may not even be perceivable to some people due to lack of knowledge or other factors. Thus, not only is there variability in the features of a setting that are perceived, there is also potentially a great deal of variability in the particular appearance of a given object once it is perceived.

Finally, Wertz further extends the notion of the dynamic, transactional relationship between person and environment in determining perceptual experience by outlining three processes involved in perceiving: initiation (emergence), explication/completion, and submerged structures (Table 1 - following Literature Cited). The foreground or thematic focus may emerge in three ways: prospection, circumspection, and reception. Prospection refers to the process of actively seeking something in the environment (e.g., a bird watcher seeking a specific species of bird). Circumspection refers to a "polymorphous openness" to the spatial surroundings (e.g., scanning the surrounding landscape without a specific focus or purpose). Reception refers to "passive vulnerability" (e.g., being suddenly startled by grouse thundering into flight). Once initiated, the perceptual experience can be explicated or completed in several ways including: avoidance, glancing at in passing, captivation, and active scrutiny. Submerged structures may influence perception in a variety of ways. For example, behavior (e.g., approaching the object from a different angle) can transform the phenomenal field. Memory may enhance or supply unperceived internal horizons (e.g., a particular species of fish is good tasting). Perception also may be enhanced by the guidance of others.

Although starting from a different conceptual basis (William James' "stream of thought" and Kurt Lewin's concept of lifespace), White (1988) describes a perceptual process that, like Wertz's model, posits a transactional relationship between the person and environment in determining perceptual experience. Rather than using the figure/ground metaphor, White (1988) presents a flashlight analogy to describe perception. Lifespace (a person's psychological field at any given moment) is similar to a field of objects revealed in the beam of a flashlight. The beam of light is brightest at the center, clearly illuminating that which is the focus of attention. Away from the central region is a peripheral region where the light becomes progressively fainter. Objects in this region (the penumbra) are present and potentially perceivable. The recreationist has a general

notion of the nature of objects in the penumbra at any given moment, but these objects are currently of little or no salience to perception.

The stream of consciousness is represented by movement of the flashlight. In everyday perception, the path of the flashlight beam is constantly being changed and objects continually flow in and out of consciousness. Movement of the flashlight is largely determined by what is sensed in the penumbra. Thus the penumbra serves an important role in perception.

As White points out, an important issue is how objects or ideas enter the penumbra. The flashlight analogy implies geographical proximity is one factor (the contribution of the environment). Another, equally important source is associative proximity. Associative proximity refers to networks or associations among mental representations (the contribution of the person). Thus, the penumbra is made up of both that which is spatially present and that which is mentally present, and the stream of consciousness can be guided by either source.

Implications. The two metaphors of perception presented serve a useful function on two levels. First, they act as a heuristic tool illustrating three important dimensions of perceptual experience: its transactional, contextual, and dynamic nature. The term transactional refers to the fact that personal experience of the world is not merely a reflection of the external world nor solely a construction of the individual's mental processes (Polkinghorne 1989, Valle et al. 1989). Rather, the individual's perceived world is the result of the mutually defining inter-relationship between person and environment. Thus, the leisure experience is not produced by what is "out there" nor is it entirely a production of the recreationist. Instead, the experience of leisure settings is co-constituted by the recreationist and the environment. A closely related issue is the concept of contextualism. The contextual nature of perception refers to the fact that perceptual experience is the result of a particular individual occupying a particular space at a particular time. Thus, one cannot understand perception by having people discuss experience in the abstract (i.e., the typical or average experience). The researcher must base the search for understanding on explorations of specific events that occurred to a given individual at a particular time. Finally, the dynamic nature of perception refers to the fact that what stands out as figural and what recedes into the background in the stream of consciousness is constantly changing. Thus, while the

research tradition exploring anticipated or realized outcomes has been criticized because recreationists' responses regarding motives for participation have been found to differ depending on whether they are measured before or after participation (Iso-Ahola and Allen 1982) and because expectations may differ from actual experiences (Scherl 1988), the metaphors described above recognize and begin to address these possibilities.

White's (1988) concept of associate proximity also has important implications at this level. He suggests that only a small portion of our memory bank can occupy our lifespace at any moment. A similar phenomena has been noted by consumer behavior researchers. In this discipline, a distinction is made between absolute and situational awareness (Alba and Chattopadhyay 1985). Absolute awareness refers to all knowledge that a consumer has (knowledge set) while situational awareness refers to that portion of the knowledge set that is recalled at a particular point in time (retrieval set). Studies of brand recall suggest that the retrieval set may only be a subset of the knowledge set (e.g Alba and Chattopadhyay 1985, Nedungadi 1990). Analogously, attitude researchers are beginning to acknowledge that attitudes do not always guide behavior because they may not be accessed during some interactions (Vincent and Fazio 1990). These concepts suggest that general surveys of the content and organization of visitor knowledge are not sufficient. In addition, we need to explore the accessibility and dynamic functioning of memory and knowledge to understand how it influences leisure experiences.

The second level on which the metaphors provide a useful function is tied more closely to specific research applications. Underlying both metaphors is the belief that human experience is orderly and structured. This belief represents a core ontological assumption of existential phenomenology. To achieve their goal of understanding human experience, existential phenomenologists attempt to identify and describe the essential psychological structure of human experience (Polkinghorne 1989). The essential structure of experience is the communality running throughout the many manifestations of the experience; i.e., those facets that are invariant, necessary, and sufficient for defining an experience as being of a specific type (Polkinghorne 1989, Valle et al. 1989). For example, the essential structure of a triangle is three intersecting straight lines. Other characteristics such as size and color may differentiate between particular occurrences of triangles, but they are not necessary for the experience of triangleness (Polkinghorne 1989). Thus, with respect to perceptual

experiences during leisure, the challenge becomes one of whether it is possible to describe the structure of perception at a level of specificity sufficient (1) to distinguish between different classes of perceptual experiences and (2) to understand reactions to resource and social conditions encountered during actual experiences.

Approaches to defining the invariant structure of perception can focus on the process of perception, content of perception, or both. An example of a focus on process is Jacob and Schreyer's (1980) suggestion that modes of experiencing the environment range on a continuum from focused to unfocused. Williams and Roggenbuck's (1990) suggestion that the three primary areas to which attention can be directed are the activity, setting, and social companions is an example of characterizing perception on the basis of content.

Modes of Consciousness and Perception

The second dimension of perception encompasses modes of consciousness and perception. The study of perception in psychology has always been linked closely to assumptions regarding the nature of human consciousness. For example, the traditional natural science approach to perception assumes a human consciousness that is objective, analytical, and highly focused (McConville 1978). Other theories of perception have posited different views regarding the nature of human consciousness. The following section briefly traces several different conceptualizations of human consciousness and their implications for perception.

Heinz Werner, a perceptual researcher in the 1940's and 1950's distinguished between two types of perception: geometric-technical and physionomic (McConville 1978). Geometric-technical perception is similar to the natural science view of perception. When in this mode of consciousness, perception is very "literal" and the perceiver grasps the objective, physical qualities of the stimulus being perceived. In physionomic perception, on the other hand, the perceiver is sensitive to "the expressive meanings of the object (people, things, places) which transcend their physical stimulus properties" (McConville 1978:105).

Based on his studies of brain-injured patients, Kurt Goldstein (1963 in McConville 1978) distinguished between two forms of perception: concrete and categorical. Goldstein noted that many brain-injured patients, while capable of responding to the objective, physical dimensions of situations (concrete perception), were

unable to relate to abstract, expressive, and symbolic meanings. Goldstein believed that the distinction between concrete and categorical perception applied to normally functioning people as well. In a concrete mode of consciousness, individuals respond to the objective properties of the surrounding environment in relation to their ongoing motor projects. In the categorical mode of consciousness, behavior is organized according to the abstract, symbolic, and imagined dimensions of the surroundings.

Schachtel (1959) approached the issue of "modes of relatedness ... between the perceiver and the world around him" (p. 82) from the perspective of psychoanalytic theory. Schachtel distinguished between three types of perception: primary autocentric, secondary autocentric, and allocentric. Primary autocentric perception is subject centered, with little or no "objectification" of the concrete, physical properties of stimuli. Rather the emphasis is on how or what the individual feels. In the most extreme examples of this form of perception, objects are experienced only as states of the perceiver's comfort or discomfort. Sensation arising from such sensory modalities as taste, smell, and proprioception are often representative of autocentric perception.

Secondary autocentric perception is characterized by perception of objects from the basis of the subject's needs or goals. Schachtel described this mode of perception as "looking for" rather than "looking at." Although this mode of perception is characterized by objectification of stimulus properties, perception of the object is limited to those characteristics that are necessary for achieving one's purposes.

Allocentric perception is object centered. Schachtel described this mode of perception as "looking at" rather than "looking for." In allocentric perception the observer attempts to know or grasp an object mentally, and is alert to its structure and quality. Thus, unlike autocentric perception, the properties of the stimulus are objectified. Unlike secondary autocentric perception, the object is perceived independently of the subject's goals, that is, perception of the object is an end in itself rather than a means to an end.

Schachtel offers several examples illustrating the characteristics of the three different modes of perception. The instrumental, secondary autocentric perception is exemplified by city residents who "merely use a small part of the city as a kind of home territory, with certain landmarks of familiarity, but never look at the city for its own sake" (p.205). In contrast, the out of town visitor who "comes to look at the city, to savor

its atmosphere and to learn to know it" employs both allocentric and primary autocentric perception. The sightseer who "does not encounter the sights on his journey, but collects them like ... snapshots, and ... experiences not that which is before his eyes but the possession and exhibition of something that he will show to his friends at home" (p. 206) also is representative of secondary autocentric perception. Similarly, visitors who quickly label the new and unique (e.g., the previously unknown mountain becomes Hawksbill, the highest mountain in Shenandoah National Park) and then are "satisfied as though [they] now really know what is just as unfathomable as it was before" (p. 202) exemplify secondary autocentric perception.

Schachtel illustrates the difference between allocentric and primary autocentric perception by describing the experience of a person sitting in a garden. In the allocentric mode, the observer might "single out a particular tree, try to see it fully and experience its essence." In a primary autocentric mode, the observer might experience "the impact of color and light all around ...., the refreshing and restful green, the lively colors of clumps of flowers, the blue of the sky" (p. 218). A final example of different modes of perception is based on different experiences of two individuals walking in the woods. The first person is a paratrooper dropped behind enemy lines. This person "scans everything, not from the viewpoint of wanting to see it fully, but to detect the presence or absence of danger. Every sight and every noise is perceived with the utmost alertness as to its possible danger or safety implications. The sights seen and sounds heard become potential symbols of danger and no longer invite a full turning to the object" (p. 219). Thus, in this case, perception is characteristic of the secondary autocentric mode. In contrast, a visitor walking through the woods to enjoy the morning may use a mixture of allocentric and primary autocentric perception. In this latter case, the visitor might "look at the life of the forest, the trees, the ferns, the moss, the patterns of sunlight on the ground, ... smell the morning freshness, ... listen to the songs of the birds" (p. 219).

Erwin Strauss (1963) distinguished between gnostic and pathic modes of perception. In gnostic perception, there is a sense of "distance" between the perceiver and the stimulus. This distance permits the perceiver to objectify, judge, and reflectively analyze the situation. Alternatively, in pathic perception, the perceiver is emersed immediately in the surroundings. McConville (1978:104) illustrated the difference between these two forms of perception with the following example. "Occasionally, when I visit the home ... of a friend

for the first time, my wife will ask me upon my return to tell her my impressions.... My answer is typically something like 'well their apartment has a very comfortable, old fashioned quality about it.' Beyond this global pathic impression I am usually unable to specify any of the details of my perceptual experience. In contrast to myself, my wife ... can easily recall the furniture, its arrangement, the wallpaper design, the material and cut of the curtains, the molding, and so on. Given the same objective stimulus situation, my perceptual experience is considerably different from her ... gnostic mode of experience."

Approaching this topic from the basis of his theory of motivation, Abraham Maslow (1968) distinguished between two modes of perception. The first he referred to as deficiency perception. Deficiency perception is grounded in basic human needs, and notes only those aspects of an object that are related to one's needs. In this mode of perception, people compare, judge, approve, relate, and use. The other perceptual mode Maslow recognized was being perception. In being perception one attempts to grasp an object "in its own right and its own Being, without reference to need-gratifying or need-frustrating qualities" (p. 202).

Based on phenomenological analysis of perception in everyday life, Frederick Wertz (1989) also recognized two modes of perception: pragmatic and appreciative. Pragmatic perception serves as a means to an end. In this mode, individuals only thematicize or focus on objects that are "part of the solution to the problem." For example, a hotel guest "does not focus on the desk clerk at all ... as he passes through the lobby; but when his key fails to open his door, he looks for the clerk for help. Even when he perceives the clerk in accord with a newly acquired relevance, the subject does not focus on his eye color, dress, style, age, or mood because these features are task irrelevant. He notices a quizzical look on the clerk's face and his calling to a porter because they pertain to the solution of his problem" (p. 87). Wertz suggests there are subtypes of pragmatic perception that are organized or differentiated according to different kinds of tasks. For instance, different subtypes of pragmatic perception are involved in manipulating, problem solving, and different modes of locomotion (walking, driving, roller skating).

In appreciative perception, the subject dwells on the object being perceived. Perception of the object is an end in itself. Wertz contrasts the pragmatic perception of the hotel clerk in the above example with the appreciative perception of a woman in love with the clerk. "She might have noticed the twinkle in the clerk's

eyes, the noble style obscured by his ill-suited uniform, or a sadness in his voice" (p. 88). Wertz suggested that subtypes of appreciative perception exist also, but that these vary primarily on the basis of the content of the perceivers' intrinsic interests (e.g., symphonies, nature, etc.).

Wertz also suggested that pragmatic and appreciative perception could operate "in close proximity or even unitary fusion", especially in leisure activities. As an example, he described a fisherman who admires the "lake, whose flat smooth, glassy surface still holds traces of mist from the morning fog" at one instant, and who enters a pragmatic mode of perception a moment later to find "a good spot to fish."

Neil Bolton (1982) described three types of perception. The first is a very functional mode, the purpose of which is to direct our actions toward some ends. He illustrated it with the following excerpt from Valery (1972: 26). "The dog's ear perceives a sound that makes him look up in alarm; but of this sound he absorbs only as much as he needs in order to replace it by an immediate and completely determined action. He does not dwell on perception." The second mode of perception is one that is supplemented by imagining possibilities implied by the present appearance. For example, "having climbed a ladder, an image of the height of a virtual fall accompanies my perception of the apples I am picking" (p. 5). The final mode of perception is the aesthetic experience. In the aesthetic experience, the object serves no useful function, nor is there an attempt to move beyond the actual appearance to imagined possibilities. The object itself becomes subject which shows itself and expresses a meaning.

Another example comes from the field of consumer behavior research. This discipline recognizes two modes of consciousness that lead to different modes of perception. The first perspective posits an instrumental relationship between objects and desirable end states (Havlena and Holbrook 1986). This leads to a view of perception as being highly objective and analytical (Hirschman 1985). In contrast, the alternative perspective emphasizes the subjective aspects of human consciousness including emotional responses, symbolic meanings, and aesthetic criteria (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982, Holbrook and Hirschman 1982, Hirschman 1985). In this latter mode of consciousness, humans may project themselves into an external event and augment or possibly replace reality through the generation of fantasies, daydreams, and other forms of internal imagery (Hirschman 1985, Hirschman and Holbrook 1982).

Finally, theorists addressing the psychology of wilderness experiences also have alluded to different modes of consciousness/perception. In a review of literature regarding perception and experience of wilderness, Stankey and Schreyer (1987) suggest wilderness can serve as a catalyst for achieving altered states of consciousness characterized by enhanced perception and awareness and mystical, spiritual, or religious experiences. Hammitt (1982), building on the work of Kaplan (1977) and William James, suggests that there are two forms of attention: voluntary and involuntary. Voluntary attention requires active concentration and effort. In contrast, involuntary is characterized by a passive, reflexive, aroused state requiring no effort. Hammitt suggests that natural stimuli such as waterfalls, wildlife, and sunsets promote involuntary attention.

Through an exploration of the writings of naturalists and wilderness philosophers, Neil Scott (1974) identified two different modes of consciousness and subsequently linked these to Fischer's (1971) cartography of consciousness. The first mode is represented by George Catlin's description of an event occurring during his travels among the Indian tribes of the Upper Missouri River in 1832. At one point, Catlin sat under a tree and focused on a map of North America. While concentrating, he experienced an illusion in which he saw himself floating over oceans and continents, eventually focusing on the destruction of the American bison. Ultimately, this vision gave rise to his proposal for creating National Parks. Scott (p. 234) described this mode of consciousness as "a self-induced altered state of consciousness characterized by depersonalization, hallucinations, altered times sense, an intense feeling state, oceanic yet simultaneously detailed perception of environmental wholeness, intuitive intellectual insight ...." In relation to Fischer's cartography, this mode of perception/consciousness is "a meditative state mediated by the parasympathetic component of the autonomic nervous system" (Scott 1974:236). The second mode of consciousness is represented by John Muir's experiences while in a tree top during a wind storm. This episode was characterized by altered perceptions ("enhanced sensitivity to and exhilarated enjoyment of proprioceptive, olfactory, visual, and auditory stimuli"), intellectual insights, and an intense feeling stated (Scott 1974: 234). In relation to Fischer's cartography, this type of "ecstatic state" results from stimulation of the sympathetic component of the autonomic nervous system.

In summary, theorists from a wide variety of backgrounds have postulated the existence of different modes of consciousness that are associated with different modes of perceptual experience. Most theorists have

attempted to distinguish between two modes of consciousness while a few have suggested three. Considered collectively, these conceptual discussions suggest there are three distinct modes of perception: object centered, subject centered, and instrumental. In object centered perception, the purpose of perception is to know, grasp, or appreciate an object independently of the observer's other needs or goals, that is, perception of the object is an end in itself. In subject centered perception, the focus is directed inward. The emphasis is on moods, sensation, imagination, etc. with little objectification of the stimulus properties. Finally, in instrumental perception, objects are simply signals related to some need or goal. Objects are perceived only with respect to the functions they serve.

Implications. The concept of different modes of consciousness/perception has direct implications for a number of substantive applications in management of natural environments for leisure. First, it seems likely that the predominant mode of perception (object centered, subject centered, or instrumental) is associated with different sensitivity to and awareness of impacts to various resource and social conditions. Thus, if it is possible develop methodological approaches for identifying the various modes of perception, we may gain additional insight into how impacts affect the quality of the leisure experience for different recreationists.

Research on modes of perception may also provide useful insights regarding models of recreation choice behavior. For example, many existing approaches to recreation choice behavior (cf. ROS (Driver et al. 1987) and Brunson and Shelby (1990)) are based on the assumption that recreationists are highly analytical, objective problem solvers who decompose settings into discrete attributes. Such a view seems compatible with the instrumental mode of consciousness, but not with subject centered perception.

Along a similar line of reasoning, the concept of different modes of consciousness suggests that the satisfaction model, often viewed as a surrogate measure for quality in leisure experiences (Williams 1989), is not universally applicable. Specifically, satisfaction, which is regarded to be a cognitive evaluation of how well a product performed its function (Hunt 1977, Oliver 1980), seems an inappropriate model for recreationists with object centered or subject centered perceptual orientations.

Finally, managers often hope that resource conditions communicate certain messages about appropriate behaviors to visitors (e.g., camp in pristine sites only in low use areas, camp in moderately impacted sites in

high use areas). Research on modes of perception may help define the types of visitors who are likely to perceive these types of messages in the landscape. Similarly, research on perceptual orientation may be useful in directing persuasion/education efforts. For example, in relation to Petty and Cacioppo's (1986) elaboration likelihood model, does perceptual orientation influence the processing route (central or peripheral) recreationists use to evaluate messages?

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The primary objectives of a research program designed to explore the nature of perceptual experience during leisure engagements are presented below.

1.) Identify the essential psychological structure of perceptual experiences. The purpose of this objective is not necessarily to modify the two general metaphors of perceptual experience presented earlier. Rather, an attempt will be made to characterize and discriminate between (on the basis of processes and/or content) specific subclasses of perceptual experiences.

2.) Develop psychometric scales suitable for operationally defining different subclasses of perceptual experience identified in objective 1.

3.) Evaluate psychometric scales for assessing the three modes of consciousness/perception (object-centered, subject-centered, and instrumental).

4.) Explore the relationship between perceptual experiences (as described by the psychometric scales developed in objectives 2 and 3) and awareness of/sensitivity to impact conditions during recreational engagements.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The research program to begin exploring the nature of the perceptual experience during leisure engagements will consist of three phases. Phase one will entail the collection and analysis of first hand descriptions of the immediate, unreflected experience of leisure. Narratives will be obtained by asking overnight visitors to natural areas to record their experiences using small, hand-held dictophones during one or more evenings on their visit. Participants will be asked to describe what the day was like and what they felt, thought, noticed, and did (cf. Thompson et al. 1989, Polkinghorne 1989, Roggenbuck 1991). Perceptions of day use visitors will be explored also. These visitors will be asked to describe their experiences as soon after leaving the area as possible.

Once received, the tape recorded narratives will be transcribed verbatim. Following this, the structure of individual narratives will be analyzed following guides for phenomenological methodology described in Kuiken et al. (1989) and briefly outlined below . First narratives will be divided into simple meaning units or themes. Second, researchers will attempt to express the themes through descriptive languaging (Wertz 1983b) or by attempting to define an acceptable paraphrase. After individual narratives are broken down into meaning units, the narratives will be reviewed collectively. At this point, researchers will group similar themes relating to perceptual experience and the descriptive phrasing of these themes will be refined to reflect similarities and provide consistency in meaning labels across individuals. In the third step, individual transcripts will be scored 1 for a specific theme if it is present and 0 if the transcript did not contain a reference to the theme. The final step in this analysis will employ the use of cluster analyses to classify participants' accounts according to similarities in profile characteristics of the narratives. In addition to identifying themes differentiating among clusters, nondifferentiating themes (both unique and universal) also will be described. The underlying assumption is that universal themes reflect the essential psychological structure of perceptual experience of natural settings in general, while the differentiating themes reflect the essential structure of different subclasses of the perceptual experience. Unique themes represent dimensions of the perceptual experience unique to individuals.

The second phase of the research will entail the construction and evaluation of psychometric scales designed to operationally define and measure subclasses of perceptual experience and modes of consciousness/perception. Scale development will follow general guidelines outlined by Devellis (1991). Item pools for assessing subclasses of perceptual experience will be generated based on the results of the phenomenological investigation from phase one of the research program. Item pools for the modes of consciousness/perception domain will be generated on the basis of the phenomenological investigation from phase 1 of the research program and from a review of relevant literature. Data analyses will include exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis and reliability assessments (Cronbach's Alpha).

Existing scales tapping similar concepts will be evaluated also. The first scale is based on Pekala's (1982) efforts to operationalize an approach for mapping consciousness. Pekala suggests that different states of

consciousness are a function of different patterns of relationships between substructures of consciousness (Pekala and Beiber 1990). He developed the Phenomenology of Consciousness Inventory as the basis for measuring patterns of consciousness. This inventory is a 53-item scale covering 12 major dimensions of consciousness. Six of the major dimensions are subdivided further into minor dimensions. The dimensions (and associated subdimensions) are: altered experience (time sense, meaning, body image, perception), positive affect (joy, sexual excitement, love), negative affect (anger, sadness, fear), visual imagery (amount, vividness), attention (direction of attention, absorption), rationality, arousal (relaxation), self awareness, memory, volitional control, internal dialogue, and altered state of awareness (Pekala and Kumar 1986). Pekala and Beiber (1990) outline a multivariate, correlational approach for mapping, statistically assessing, and diagraming different states of consciousness based on different patterns of relationships among the dimensions of consciousness.

A second scale that will be examined and possibly modified to assess subject centered perception is Tellegen's (1981) absorption scale. This scale is based on eight content clusters. Descriptive labels and examples of the content clusters are presented in Table 2 (last two pages).

In the third phase of the research program, scales developed in phase 2 will be given to recreationists. Some recreationists will be asked to respond to brief versions of the survey during evenings of their trips while others will be asked to respond as soon as possible after the trip is completed. Data analysis in this phase will have two aspects. First, patterns of relationships between processes, content, and modes of perception will be characterized, possibly using cluster analysis or the strategies for analyzing pattern structure of multivariate data described by Pekala and Beiber (1990). The second aspect of the analysis will be to explore discriminant validity of the scales by examining the relationship between scores on the individual psychometric scales (or clusters defined on the basis of patterns of relationships among the psychometric scales identified in the previous analysis) and awareness of resource/social conditions encountered during the experience. Data on awareness of resource/social conditions will be based on content analysis of interviews obtained onsite (either at some point during the trip or as the study participants exit the area). Similar to the interviews in phase one of the research program, respondents will be asked to give a pre-reflective narrative description of the leisure experience. However, after the initial description, prompts regarding the perception/awareness of resource conditions will be

used to assess awareness of conditions if necessary. Interviews will be recorded on tape and transcribed later.

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Table 1. Constituent processes of perceiving (from Wertz 1982).

INITIATION/EMERGENCE		
Prospection	seeking something foresensed	looking for nuts
Circumspection	polymorphous openness	looking around the room
Reception	passive vulnerability	being struck by a cart from behind
COMPLETION/EXPLICATION		
Avoidance	dethematization	looking away from pornography
Glancing at in passing	momentary, superficial contact	fleeting gaze over window display
Captivation	passive surrender to object; initiated adumbration	being absorbed in the symphony
Active scrutiny	analytic differentiating and relating of parts and horizons	exploring the workings of a carburetor
SUBMERGED SUBSTRUCTURES		
Behavior	transformation of the phenomenal field	turning object around to see back
Memory	constitution of horizons	apples seen as tasting good (as in the past)
Anticipation	gives what will be seen presently	looking forward to the gift inside the box
Sociality	guidance by others	other points out complementary colors in art work

Table 2. Eight dimensions of Tellegen's (1981) absorption scale.

Imaginative and Oblivious Involvement
If I wish, I can imagine some things so vividly that they hold my attention in the way a good movie or story does
When I listen to music, I can get so caught up in it that I don't notice anything else
Affective Responsiveness to Engaging Stimuli
I can be deeply moved by a sunset
I like to watch cloud shapes change in the sky
Responsiveness to Highly Inductive Stimuli
When listening to organ music or other powerful music, I sometimes feel as if I am lifted into the air
The sound of a voice can be so fascinating to me that I can just go on listening to it
Vivid Re-experiencing of the Past
Sometimes I feel and experience things as I did when I was a child
I sometimes recollect certain past experiences in my life w/ such clarity and vividness that it is like living them again or almost so
Expansion of Awareness
I sometimes step outside my usual self and experience an entirely different state of being
At times I somehow feel the presence of someone who is not physically there

Table 2. (continued).

Powerful "Inductive" Imaging
If I wish, I can imagine that my body is so heavy that I could not move if I wanted to
Sometimes I can change noise into music by the way I listen to it
Imaginal Thinking
My thoughts often don't occur as words but as visual images
Sometimes thoughts and images come to me with-out the slightest effort on my part
Cross-modal experiencing
I find that different odors have different colors
Different colors have distinctive and special meanings to me

CONSUMER-OBJECT RELATIONS:

AN EXPERIENTIAL PERSPECTIVE

Michael E. Patterson

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One goal of consumer behavior research has been to explore and describe the relationship between consumers and the products and services they purchase. Research on this topic has centered around two perspectives that are based on different views of human nature (Hirschman 1985, Lofman 1991). Underlying the first perspective is the belief that personal happiness and well-being occur when specific needs or goals are met (Diener 1984, Lofman 1991). As a result, people are seen as engaging in consumptive behaviors to satisfy unfulfilled needs or to achieve desired goals. Products and services are thought to be of value because they are the means or tools through which consumers achieve these desired end states. This leads one to view humans as highly analytic, rational problem solvers (Hirschman 1985). Because this perspective posits an instrumental relationship between objects and desirable end states, it has been referred to as the instrumental perspective (Havlena and Holbrook 1986, Stokols 1990).

In contrast, the alternative perspective maintains that happiness and well-being arise directly from the nature of activity and from interaction with objects rather than from attaining desired end states (Diener 1984, Lofman 1991, Omodei and Wearing 1990). This approach emphasizes the experiential aspects of human nature including emotions, sensory stimulation, and fantasy (Hirschman 1985). Consumer products are seen as more than just a means to an end, they are seen as objects that are valued for their symbolic and affective qualities (Stokols 1990). In consumer behavior research, this approach has been referred to as the experiential perspective (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982).

The instrumental perspective, which includes the information processing paradigm, has been the dominant force guiding consumer behavior research (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982, Solomon 1983). However, the experiential perspective has received increasing attention in this discipline during the last decade. Since these two perspectives emphasize different aspects of human nature, selecting one over the other has implications for the subsequent description of human-object relations. Therefore, it is important to understand the distinctions between the two approaches. The purposes of

this paper are to briefly contrast the instrumental and experiential perspectives, to outline the two major conceptual domains of the experiential perspective, and to suggest future directions for research regarding consumer-object relations that is grounded in the experiential perspective.

Instrumental Versus Experiential Perspectives

The most important differences between the instrumental and experiential approaches to consumer behavior research can be grouped into three categories: task definition, product representation, and consumer response. The first category, task definition, refers not only to beliefs regarding the consumer's approach to product consumption, but also to the researcher's orientation when studying consumptive phenomena. In the instrumental approach, the major emphasis of research is on explanation of product and brand choice (Holbrook 1986). Consumers are viewed as rational, analytic problem solvers who search the external environment and memory for information, carefully weigh evidence, and reach decisions largely on the basis of relatively objective criteria (Hirschman 1985, Holbrook and Hirschman 1982). In contrast, rather than focusing on product choice, the experiential perspective emphasizes the consumptive experience (Holbrook 1986). Rather than looking at relatively tangible and objective criteria evaluated by a rational problem solver, the focus is on subjective aspects of consciousness including symbolic meanings, personal growth, emotional and hedonic responses, and aesthetic criteria (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982, Holbrook and Hirschman 1982, Roberts et al. 1988).

The second major difference between the instrumental and experiential perspectives revolves around the nature of product representation. The instrumental perspective views products as being represented by a set of discrete attributes that are often physically tangible and learned in a bottom-up fashion (Batra 1986, Hirschman 1985, Hirschman and Holbrook 1982). Consumers are viewed as having the ability to decompose products into these attribute components, and product choice is

thought to result from heuristic comparison and evaluation of these underlying attributes (Batra 1986, Hirschman 1985). In contrast, the experiential perspective views products and consumptive phenomena as larger, integrated wholes (Hirschman 1985). Attempts to decompose products into component attributes are seen as artificial and inappropriate (Batra 1986, Hirschman 1985). Emphasis shifts from objective and tangible attributes to more subjective concepts such as symbolic and emotional meanings of products (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982, Holbrook and Hirschman 1982).

The third major distinction between the instrumental and experiential perspective concerns response to consumptive experiences. As stated previously, the instrumental perspective focuses primarily on the issue of product choice. However, post-choice evaluations of consumptive experiences are of interest in this perspective due to the potential influence of these evaluations on subsequent choice behavior. Because the instrumental perspective views products as a means to an end, criteria for evaluating products are thought to be based largely on consumers' perceptions regarding the usefulness of products in fulfilling utilitarian functions (Ahtola 1985, Holbrook and Hirschman 1982). Instrumentally oriented research in this area has focused on the concept of satisfaction. Satisfaction is not viewed as the pleasurableness of a consumptive experience, rather it has been defined as a cognitive evaluation that "the experience was at least as good as it was supposed to be" (Hunt 1977:459-460). Satisfaction judgments are thought to be a function of: (1) expectations regarding product performance, (2) actual performance, and (3) perceived discrepancy between expectations and performance (Oliver 1980, Tse and Wilton 1988). In contrast, rather than focusing on utilitarian functions and cognitive evaluation, the experiential perspective emphasizes emotional arousal, pleasure, multisensory stimulation, personal growth, and meaning derived from the consumptive experience (Ahtola 1985, Hirschman and Holbrook 1982, Roberts et al. 1988).

Although these two approaches are conceptually distinct, they are not necessarily incompatible (Diener 1984, Omodei and Wearing 1990). Theorists studying human happiness and

well-being from each perspective have tended to incorporate aspects of the alternative position when formulating their theories of human functioning. In particular there is growing recognition of a possible link between end states and rewards intrinsic to the activity itself (Omodei and Wearing 1990).

Recognition of the importance of the alternative view has been evident in the work of those approaching consumer behavior research from each perspective. In instrumentally oriented research, several attempts have been made to integrate experiential dimensions of human nature into traditional information processing models of human behavior. For example, both Ahtola (1985) and Batra (1986) have proposed adding a separate hedonic component to models of attitude formation. Specifically, they suggest that attitudes toward objects, events, etc. are a function of both instrumental beliefs and hedonic affect toward the object. Further, Batra (1986) suggests that the hedonic component typically is holistic, nondecomposable, and brand specific. A second example is from the domain of satisfaction research. Recently, satisfaction researchers have shown increasing interest both in emotional responses to consumption experiences and in the relationship between emotional experiences and satisfaction judgments (e.g. Westbrook and Oliver 1991).

Those advocating research based on the experiential perspective have acknowledged the importance of the instrumental perspective from the beginning. For example, Hirschman (1985) suggested that consciousness is neither entirely holistic nor entirely analytic, rather it tends to be one or the other depending on the circumstances surrounding the event. Further, suggestions from other disciplines regarding possible links between desired end states and happiness arising intrinsically from participation in a particular activity have been echoed in consumer behavior research. For example, while exploring "production as consumption" among craftsmen, Roberts et al. (1988:431) suggested that individual tasks are meaningful because they are not detached from the product of the work and that "satisfaction with the end result infuses the activities instrumental for achieving it with

enjoyment."

Thus, those supporting the experiential perspective do not advocate abandonment of the instrumental perspective, rather they are attempting to supplement this perspective with an approach that they believe is more appropriate in certain situations (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982). Similarly, many of those approaching consumptive phenomena from an instrumental perspective have recognized the merits of the experiential perspective and are attempting to integrate aspects of the experiential perspective into their research.

Dimensions of Experiential Research

The following section attempts to promote a better understanding of the experiential approach to consumer-object relations by presenting an organized summary of the conceptual developments and methodological approaches employed by those adopting this perspective. It is divided into two major subsections corresponding to the two primary domains of experiential research: affective and symbolic meanings of objects/products and the actual experience when consuming products. Within each of these domains, conceptual developments are discussed first and these are followed by a brief sample of empirical methodologies that have been used to address these issues.

Affective and Symbolic Meanings

Conceptualization. The instrumental perspective has not ignored the concept of object meaning; however, the primary approach has been taxonomic in nature. That is, most research has centered on the topic of cognitive structures used to organize and define relationships among objects (Alba and Hutchinson 1987). The experiential perspective emphasizes a different dimension of meaning. Rather than addressing the relationship between objects in the mind of the consumer, the experiential perspective focuses on the relationship between objects and consumers. In consumer behavior research, development of this aspect of object meaning has been limited (Belk 1985,

Solomon 1983, Kleine and Kernan 1988). However, within the existing research, two approaches are apparent. The first emphasizes personal experience as the mechanism through which affective and symbolic meanings arise, while the second emphasizes socio-cultural forces as the process through which meaning is generated.

Those exploring meaning generation from the perspective of personal experience acknowledge that part of an object's meaning arises from a categorization process as suggested by Rosch's (1977) theory of hierarchical levels. According to Rosch's theory, categorization begins with the most readily labelled, basic level (e.g. chair) and expands to incorporate both superordinate levels (e.g. furniture) and subordinate levels (e.g. easy chair). In the experiential perspective, the basic, subordinate, and superordinate levels of categorization have been collectively referred to as types (Russell and Snodgrass 1987). However, in the personal experience view of meaning generation, research interest focuses not on the level of types, but on the level of individual objects (e.g. my easy chair). Objects at this latter level of classification have been referred to as tokens (Russell and Snodgrass 1987).

People are thought to move objects from a type level of classification to the token level as they come to know individual objects and endow them with value (Tuan 1977, Wallendorf and Arnould 1988). For example, when purchased, a house possesses only a portion of its ultimate meaning. Its full meaning to the consumer is created through experiences occurring during its occupation (Belk 1988). Consumer behavior researchers have defined the concept of tokens broadly so that it incorporates not just tangible, material objects, but also intangible, nondurable, and public goods and services which may be appropriated or possessed in the sense of being mastered (e.g. scaling a mountain peak) or being known passionately (Belk 1988).

An important premise of research exploring tokens is that tokens perform important functions in our lives. Conceptual development of this topic has emphasized the role of tokens in expressing

and maintaining a consumer's self identity (Belk 1988, Fournier 1991, Wallendorf and Arnould 1988). Identity functions served by tokens include: providing a means of cultivating an identity rather than having one imposed by the social or physical environment (Williams et al. 1989), helping consumers present themselves to others in ways that engender feedback (Belk 1988), helping individuals either integrate into social groups or differentiate themselves from others (Schultz et al. 1989, Wallendorf and Arnould 1988), providing an archive reflecting personal history and change over time (Belk 1988, Schultz et al. 1989), and providing the sense of having a place in the world (Belk 1988).

A second major premise underlying research on tokens is that many people form strong bonds with tokens that result in deeply rooted attachment (Tuan 1974). Attachment refers to the strength or intensity of the bond between individuals and tokens (Schultz et al. 1989). According to Schultz et al., attachment bonds usually are not deliberately sought, rather they arise from association during consumptive experiences. For example, people may form strong attachment to a specific recreation site because the area was a childhood stomping ground and is linked to times and companions long gone (Williams and Roggenbuck 1989). However, once formed, people seek to maintain the attachment, at least for a time, and this should be reflected in the way that people keep and maintain the object (Schultz et al. 1989).

Consumer behavior researchers have suggested that attachment arises when an object becomes closely associated with one's self concept and serves as an expression of personal identity (e.g. Belk 1988, Schultz et al. 1989). This form of attachment has been referred to as object identity (Proshansky 1978). Environmental psychologists have recognized that strong attachments also can be formed through instrumental relationships with token level objects. This occurs when individuals come to see a place or object as satisfying needs or goals better than any alternative (Williams et al. 1992). This form of attachment has been referred to as object dependence (Stokols and Shumaker

1981). Although this process of attachment formation is conceptually related to the instrumental perspective, it differs in that it addresses tokens as holistic entities rather than as separable bundles of attributes and that it emphasizes the necessity of a specific token rather than the more general category of types for achieving goals (Williams 1991).

The second view of meaning generation is a socio-cultural perspective. In this view, non-utilitarian products are thought to be consumed primarily for their symbolic meanings (McCraken 1986). Symbolic meanings are seen as being produced, not at the level of individual experience, but at the societal or subcultural level (Solomon 1983). McCraken (1986) posits a cultural model of meaning transfer whereby meaning is transferred first from the culturally constituted world to consumer objects and then from consumer objects to individual consumers. Symbolic meanings associated with goods are considered important because they substantiate cultural categories, provide a means through which individuals assign societal identity to themselves, define and clarify behaviors associated with socially defined roles, and reduce uncertainty and apprehension during role transition (McCraken 1986, Solomon 1983).

Although the personal experience and socio-cultural approaches differ in their views of how meaning is generated, these approaches are not incommensurable and actually have many similarities. For example, both approaches emphasize the importance of objects and possessions in defining one's identity through processes such as social integration and differentiation. Also, McCraken (1986) has noted that, at least in North American culture, culturally defined meanings are characterized by a lack of clarity and often possess an elective quality. Fournier (1991) has brought these two views closer together by suggesting that one dimension for developing a meaning-based framework of consumer-object relations should be communality. Communality refers to the degree to which meaning possesses a shared versus individualized character. Thus, this approach explicitly recognizes that some objects attain meaning through personalized experiences while others are assigned meaning

through cultural processes.

In summary, while the instrumental approach to meaning emphasizes relations between objects as stored in consumers' cognitive structures, the experiential approach emphasizes consumers' relationships to objects, often at the level of tokens. Important concepts are the intensity or degree of the attachment to objects, the extent to which objects are used to define personal identity, and the role symbolically meaningful objects play in integrating individuals into society and in maintaining social cohesion.

Methodological Approaches

Experiential approaches investigating symbolic and emotional meanings of objects to consumers have ranged from traditional positivistic methodology such as psychometric scaling to descriptively oriented, phenomenological methodology such as in-depth interviews. However, within the positivistic research approaches, readers should be cautious when evaluating studies claiming to be grounded in an experiential perspective. Several recent studies professing to adopt an experiential perspective actually are grounded in the instrumental, information processing paradigm. Two examples are the investigations of product meaning by Friedmann (1986) and Kleine and Kernan (1988). Although these authors introduced their studies as experiential approaches, their operationalizations of meaning reflect assumptions and ideology inherent to the instrumental perspective. Kleine and Kernan defined meaning as an interpretation of the object's physical attributes and its action potential, while Friedmann conceptualized meaning simply as "bundles of [subjective and physical] components." The former definition ignores the affective and symbolic aspects of meaning central to the experiential approach, while both definitions fail to account for the more holistic representation of meaning posited by the experiential perspective. Also, both studies emphasized the taxonomic dimension of meaning (instrumental perspective) rather than the

relationship between products and the consumer (experiential perspective).

An example a positivistic approach that does reflect the experiential perspective is Williams et al.'s (1992) study of wilderness recreationists. This study examined the degree to which recreationists ascribed strongly held meanings to specific recreation places (e.g. the Rattlesnake Wilderness Area) using 14 scale items developed to tap the concept of attachment. Items reflected both emotional/symbolic bonds to the place (e.g. "I feel like this place is a part of me" and "I identify strongly with this place") and instrumental attachment to resource (e.g. "I wouldn't substitute any other area for doing the types of things I did here" and "This area is the best place for what I like to do") and were rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1=Strongly Disagree to 5=Strongly Agree).

Examples of experientially based phenomenological approaches to the study of meaning are Wallendorf and Arnould's (1988) cross-cultural study of favored possessions and Belk et al.'s (1989) exploration of sacred and profane aspects of consumer behavior. These investigations used open-ended questionnaires, field observations, and in-depth interviews to explore the meaning of and attachment to possessions. The field notes and self-report data were reviewed by the researchers who sought to provide descriptive interpretations of the phenomena by identifying themes emerging from the data.

A final approach that has been used to address this issue combines open-ended surveys with positivistic, quantitative coding methods. The study of attachment to objects by Schultz et al. (1989) illustrates this technique. Consumers were given a survey in which they were requested to list favored objects. Later, they were asked to respond to a series of open-ended questions (e.g. "What feelings do you experience when thinking about this object?"). The responses were then coded according to pre-specified categories using judges trained by the researchers.

Consumptive Experience

The second major dimension of an experiential approach to consumer behavior research focuses on the dynamics of the actual consumptive experience. Within this dimension, two topics have been addressed: how people approach and perceive objects during the consumptive experience and the emotional responses that occur during consumption. The former topic will be discussed first.

Perceptual Orientation - Conceptualization. Most research on perception has dealt with physiological functioning and the amount of stimulation necessary for threshold discrimination and response (Schachtel 1959, Wertz 1989). How people actually approach, perceive, and experience objects in natural settings has received far less attention (Wertz 1989). However, those exploring consumer behavior from an experiential perspective have begun to focus attention on this aspect of the consumptive experience. Initial discussions regarding this topic suggested that consumers may respond to certain types of product classes (e.g. movies, concerts, and novels) by projecting themselves into the external event and augmenting or replacing reality by generating fantasies, daydreams, and other forms of internal imagery (Hirschman 1985, Hirschman and Holbrook 1982). Hirschman (1985) suggested that an important implication of this view is that different consumers experiencing product classes such as plays may employ different types of consciousness which yield highly varying experiences. For example, some may project themselves into the play, opening themselves to imagination and emotional experiences, while others may rationally analyze the play based on its premises and structure.

Building on conceptual discussions of perception by Maslow (1968), Schachtel (1959), and Tellegen (1981), Lofman (1991) provided additional insight and structure to this concept. Based on his review, Lofman suggested that consumers approach objects with two mind sets. The first, referred to by Tellegen (1981) as the instrumental set, corresponds closely to the instrumental perspective. It emphasizes the consumer's needs and is characterized by relatively effortful decision

making and goal directed behavior (Tellegen 1981, Wertz 1989). This form of perception can be described as "looking for" rather than "looking at." Consumers with this orientation are not receptive to the object itself, rather objects are simply signals related to some need or goal (Schachtel 1959). To illustrate this orientation Schachtel describes a retailer who sees only the commercial value of minerals and does not appreciate their unique beauty or peculiar nature. The second mind set described by Lofman (1991) is called the experiential set. Tellegen (1981:222) defined the experiential set as "a state of receptivity or openness to undergo whatever experiential events, sensory or imaginal, that may occur." Under this perceptual orientation, attention is directed inward with an emphasis on one's moods, sensations, and imagination rather than on the object itself.

Although Lofman (1991) only derived two mind sets based on his review, closer examination of Schachtel's (1959) writing suggests a third perceptual orientation which is distinct from the previous two. Schachtel referred to this mind set as allocentric perception, though a more descriptive label would be object centered perception. In object centered perception, objects are perceived independently of the observer's goals. That is, objects are an end in themselves. According to Schachtel, this orientation is characterized by "looking at" with an emphasis on understanding what the object is like. The object centered observer attempts to know or grasp an object mentally and is alert to the structure and quality of objects. Aesthetic appreciation of objects is one example of object centered perception.

An example of instrumental versus object centered perception may be seen in how people perceive their parents over the life span. Early in life, one tends to view parents only in terms of the roles they fulfill in our lives. For example, they may be seen as figures of authority, providers, comforters, the founts of wisdom, etc. However, as one grows older there is often a tendency to take a more object centered view. Parents are perceived as unique individuals with their own special strengths and weaknesses of character.

Object centered perception is distinguished from an experiential mind set by the direction of attention and degree of objectification. In object centered perception, the focus of attention is external and objects are perceived independently of the observer, while in experiential perception attention is focused inward on sensations or imagination. An example of the difference between experiential versus object centered perception is illustrated in the following excerpts from naturalists describing their experiences and thoughts while viewing the surrounding landscape from panoramic vistas.

> "In every direction I can see only narrow ridges and narrow, deep hollows, all covered with trees. For all that can be told from this height, it might still be 1903 - or, for that matter 1803 or 1703, or 1003. Indians no doubt sat here and looked over the country as I am doing now; the visual impression is so pure and strong that I can almost imagine myself one of them." (Berry 1990:770).

> "The alpine gorges are usually wide and open, leading to amphitheaters, whose walls are either rock or drifts of never-melting snow. The sculpture of the summit is very evidently glacial. Besides the ordinary phenomena of polished rocks and moraines, the larger general forms are clearly the work of frost and ice; and although this ice-period is only feebly represented today, yet the frequent avalanches of winter and freshly scored mountain flanks are constant suggestions of the past." (King 1990:323).

The first excerpt represents an experiential perspective. The author begins by examining the landscape but soon becomes lost in his imagination. The latter description represents an object centered description in which the author explores, comes to know, and appreciates the details of the landscape that spreads before him.

In summary then, one aspect of the consumptive experience is perceptual orientation. Conceptual development of this topic in consumer behavior research and other fields suggests that consumers may approach objects from three different orientations: an instrumental orientation, an experiential orientation, or an object centered orientation. Identifying the perceptual orientation is an important aspect of studying consumptive phenomena because a single object or event can yield different experiences depending on which aspects of the experience stand out and which recede into the background (Valle and King 1978).

Perceptual Orientation - Methodological Approaches. Research focusing on this aspect of

the consumptive experience has been quite limited. Loffman (1991), who has provided the most advanced and structured conceptual development of this topic in consumer research, explored instrumentally versus experientially oriented consumptive experiences using an open-ended survey. Respondents were asked to think of market offerings "consumed for their use in achieving some goal or end state" and offerings that are "consumed for the experiences they provide." They were then asked to list images, associations, and words that reflected how they thought and felt during their most recent experience consuming that offering. Responses were then coded according to prespecified categories. Analysis consisted of identifying which market offerings were identified as experiential and which were identified as instrumental. Also, for both instrumental and experiential offerings, frequency of responses falling into the pre-specified categories were compared to characterize the differences in the two orientations. The results of this latter analysis indicated that instrumental consumption was more likely to be linked to functional and psychosocial needs while experiential consumption was more likely to be characterized by emotional reactions and active involvement in the experience. However, this aspect of the analysis seems somewhat tautological considering the way the task was presented to respondents. That is, instrumental offerings were defined as those used for achieving some end, so it should not be surprising that they were described in terms of the functions they served. Similarly, given the way experiential offerings were defined, it should not be surprising that they were described in more experiential terms.

As an alternative approach Hirschman and Holbrook (1982, Holbrook and Hirschman 1982) suggested that several existing personality scales might be modified to explore the degree to which consumers have an experiential orientation. These include Zuckerman's (1979) sensation seeking scale, Swanson's (1978) tendency for absorbing experiences scale, and Pekala and Levine's (1981/1982) phenomenology of consciousness questionnaire. Tellegen (1981) has developed a psychometric scale that also could be modified to assess the degree of experiential orientation. The

major modification that would be required to use these scales would be to rephrase the items so that they address momentary states arising during specific consumptive experiences rather than persistent personality traits.

A final methodological approach that seems to hold particular promise for developing a qualitative understanding of the consumptive experience is existential phenomenology. Existential phenomenology is a descriptive paradigm that attempts to describe the human experience as lived (Thompson et al. 1989). Human experience is viewed as being differentiated and structured, and the goal of analysis is to uncover the structure, form, and themes that underlie the experience (Polkinghorne 1983, Valle et al. 1989). Much of the philosophical development of existential phenomenology is in the area of perception. A recent example that is directly related to the perceptual orientations described above is a series of studies on human perception in everyday activities by Wertz (1982, 1989). In addition to suggesting that people perceive objects in ways similar to the perceptual orientations described above, Wertz's existential phenomenological investigation provides additional insight into the interconnectedness between different perceptual orientations and the situations in which they arise.

Emotional Response - Conceptualization. The second aspect of consumptive experiences addressed by the experiential approach is emotional response. The instrumental approach has not ignored emotions; however, this perspective has emphasized only one dimension of emotion - evaluative concepts such as like/dislike, good/bad, favorable/unfavorable, etc. (Holbrook 1986, Holbrook and Hirschman 1982). As Holbrook and Hirschman point out, a broader range of emotions may be tied to the consumption experience and, in many cases, these other emotions may be what drive product choice and hold the consumptive experience together (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982, Holbrook 1986, Holbrook and Hirschman 1982). For example, some products may be consumed in anticipation of emotional pain (e.g. couples involved in child custody fights viewing the movie

Kramer vs. Kramer) (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982).

A major obstacle facing any review of studies addressing emotional response is that the term emotion often is defined only vaguely and has been used to refer to many types of phenomena (Russell and Snodgrass 1987). Theoretical development of this issue has come largely from the field of psychology (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982). Two psychologists, Russell and Snodgrass (1987), have attempted to establish a coherent structure for addressing this topic by identifying and defining three aspects of emotion: moods, affective appraisals, and emotional episodes. Moods are subjective feeling states. Although moods may be caused by external objects or events, they are not directed toward any specific object. Russell and Snodgrass suggest that moods can be described by a circumplex model with bi-polar dimensions (Figure 1). The horizontal axis represents a pleasure/displeasure dimension while the vertical axis represents an arousal/sleepiness dimension.

Affective appraisal is the attribution of an affective quality to some object or event. It differs from mood in that it is perceived as being a quality of an object, rather than a subjective state of consciousness (i.e. it is directed toward something). Russell and Snodgrass suggest that affective appraisals can be organized using two dimensions similar to those defined for mood (Figure 2). The horizontal axis is similar to an evaluative dimension ranging from unpleasant to pleasant. The vertical axis refers to the capacity of an object to arouse and ranges from soporific to arousing.

The final aspect of emotion is emotional episodes. Emotional episodes are a gestalt, typically consisting of three components: behavioral, physiological, and mental. Behavioral aspects may be expressive (e.g. smiles) or instrumental (e.g. flight). Physiological changes are those activated by the autonomic nervous system. The mental component consists of mood, affective appraisal, and awareness of one's own emotional episode. Although some have assumed that the three components of emotion occur together, Russell and Snodgrass suggest that it is reasonable to assume they are independent. For example, they suggest that a person may fear snakes, but still be willing to

approach and handle them. Because components of emotional episodes may be discordant or may occur alone, Russell and Snodgrass suggest that no single measure represents a satisfactory operational definition of emotional episodes as a whole. Hence they recommend that researchers should distinguish among individual components of emotional episodes (i.e. moods, affective appraisals, behavioral manifestations, etc.), establish operational definitions of each separately, and rely on empirical studies to establish the relationships among them.

An alternative approach for studying emotions is represented by attempts to identify primary or basic emotions. Those employing this approach believe it is possible to describe all emotions in terms of one or more of these basic emotions. For example, Plutchik (1980) introduced a typology of eight primary emotions (fear, anger, joy, sadness, disgust, acceptance, expectancy, surprise) that he believes were established through evolutionary processes (Havlena and Holbrook 1986). However, others have proposed different lists of basic emotions. For example, Izard (1977) proposed a list of 10 basic emotions which include: fear, anger, joy, sadness, disgust, interest, contempt, shame, guilt, and surprise (Westbrook and Oliver 1991). Thus, one shortcoming of this approach is that there is no agreement regarding the appropriate list of basic emotions. A second problem is lack of agreement regarding how complex emotions should be defined in terms of the basic emotions (Russell and Snodgrass 1987).

Emotional Response - Methodological Approaches. In consumer behavior research, those examining emotions associated with the consumptive experience from an experiential perspective have focused on moods. Havlena and Holbrook (1986) compared Plutchik's (1980) eight category typology of emotions to Mehrabian and Russell's (1974) pleasure-arousal-dominance (PAD) model to determine which would be the most appropriate operationalization of mood for representing consumer response. The PAD model is similar to the two-dimensional circumplex model described above

except it includes a third continuous dimension - dominance. Havlena and Holbrook chose the PAD model because it has received the greatest amount of attention in consumer research. Plutchik's framework was selected over other typologies of basic emotion because the researchers perceived it to be the best conceived of the typologies and because of the amount of attention the framework has received in previous consumer research (Havlena and Holbrook 1986, Holbrook 1986). The results indicated that the PAD model was more useful for characterizing consumptive experiences because it captured more information about emotional responses.

In a recent study exploring the relationship between consumptive emotions and satisfaction, Westbrook and Oliver (1991) employed an operational measure based on Izard's (1977) typology of 10 basic emotions. Results indicated that several different patterns of affective experiences co-existed with and were related to a unidimensional satisfaction continuum. Furthermore, although satisfaction measures were significantly related to dimensions of emotion, they explained only 35 to 50 % of the variance in emotional space. This indicates a need to examine more complex emotional responses than those captured by measures of satisfaction. As a final note, Westbrook and Oliver suggested that other typologies of emotions (e.g. Plutchik's) might produce different patterns of emotional response and that the results obtained in their study may not generalize to consumptive experiences with product classes other than the one examined (automobiles).

Implications and Future Research Directions

Meaning

A primary implication of research on affective and symbolic meanings of objects is that consumers are more than just passive responders to stimuli inherent to products or generated by marketers. Instead, they may also actively create their own meanings for market offerings based on personal consumptive experiences. Although marketers may not be able to control or manage this

aspect of consumer-object relations, it is important that they gain some understanding of this issue as CoCa Cola's recent attempt to change the formula of Coke so vividly illustrates. Two particularly promising areas for research on symbolic and affective meanings are products where consumption lasts over a long period of time (e.g. cars and houses) or services where much of the experience emanates from the consumer (e.g. vacation, tourism, and leisure services).

The facts that consumers may create their own meanings for products and may form strong attachment bonds have implications for research that makes assumptions regarding product substitutability. The concept of substitutability arises from the instrumental perspective which views objects as being decomposable into discrete and tangible attributes. It is a central aspect of several models used in consumer behavior research (models based on efficiency frontiers (e.g. Kamakura et al. (1988) are one example). To the extent that consumers create their own subjective meanings for objects, the concept of substitutability may lose all relevance. As an illustration, consider the following example from the field of leisure research.

Much leisure research has been devoted to the issue of recreation site selection. The predominant approach has been an instrumental one in which recreational activities are characterized in terms of activities or desired psychological outcomes, and then the resource attributes necessary to support these different types of engagements are identified (Williams and Roggenbuck 1990). This approach suggests that sites with the same attributes will provide equivalent experiences and thus may be considered substitutes. This assumption may hold when people are attracted to recreation sites for instrumental reasons (i.e. because the setting facilitates certain goals or activities). However, the experiential perspective suggests that recreationists may also be drawn to a site for noninstrumental reasons such as emotional bonds. For example, a backpacker may frequent a cherished site, not because of any physically observable attributes of the site, but because of an emotional bond linked to times and companions long gone. In this case, there would be no substitute site capable of providing

an equivalent experience.

As a consequence, future research in this area needs to explore not only how and when affective bonds arise, but also the implications of these attachments for the concept of substitutability. The possible implications of attachment arising from the two different processes described earlier (identity vs. dependence) should be explored also. In cases where attachments arise through a dependence process, it may possible to use marketing techniques to change the consumer's views regarding brand equivalence and substitutability.

A final area for future research concerns the implications of affective/symbolic meanings which arise from the two different processes described previously (personal experience vs. cultural processes). Fournier (1991) suggested that this distinction may be important because meanings generated through cultural processes may be more stable while those generated through personalized experience may be more salient and reinforcing in addition to encouraging deeper processing and elaboration. These propositions should be explored.

Perceptual Orientation

While it is the least developed of all the dimensions of the experiential perspective, the concept of perceptual orientation is the most important because it holds the potential for determining when it is appropriate to take an instrumental approach to consumer-object relations and when it is appropriate to take an experiential approach. Although a conceptual framework consisting of three perceptual orientations (instrumental, experiential, object centered) has been established, methodological approaches for operationally defining these concepts and substantive applications empirically verifying the importance of these concepts have yet to be addressed. These latter domains of the research enterprise need to be explored.

Three methodological approaches for exploring perceptual orientation were introduced in this

review. The first, represented by Loffman's (1991) study begins with market offerings and attempts to identify which offerings are instrumentally perceived and which are experientially perceived. Thus, this approach implies that perceptual orientation is a characteristic of the market offering. On the other hand, the approach suggested by Holbrook and Hirschman (1982) implies that perceptual orientation is a characteristic or trait of the individual rather than products. There is some degree of truth in both perspectives. That is, some products tend to prompt an instrumental orientation (e.g. batteries) and some consumers are more likely to be instrumentally oriented. However, at this time, the extent to which perceptual orientation is determined by the market offering, consumer traits, or situational characteristics is not clear. The third methodological approach presented in this review, existential phenomenology (and other interpretive approaches), offer a promising starting point for sorting out these issues.

With respect to substantive applications, the concept of perceptual orientation has implications for research in several aspects of consumer behavior. First, it suggests that the satisfaction model is not universally applicable as a measure of post-choice evaluation of the consumptive experience. Specifically, satisfaction, which is regarded to be a cognitive evaluation of how well the product performed its intended function, seems an inappropriate model for consumers with object centered or experiential orientations. Thus, future research should explore alternative ways of evaluating consumptive experiences based on these two perceptual orientations. For example research should explore measures that emphasize moods or aesthetic appreciation.

A second substantive area for which perceptual orientation has implications is ad processing research. Hirschman (1985) suggested that consumers with an experiential orientation may be more responsive to ads requiring fantasy but less susceptible to fantasy imagery provided by marketers. These suggestions have yet to be explored. Also in this area, it would be useful to explore perceptual orientation in relation to Petty and Cacioppo's (1986) elaboration likelihood model. Specifically, does

perceptual orientation influence the processing route used, and if so, which orientations are associated with which routes?

A final substantive area for which perceptual orientation may have implications is interactions between consumers and sales/service personnel. Of particular interest are the implications of perceiving sales/service representatives from an instrumental orientation (i.e. as tools for achieving goals) versus from an object centered orientation (i.e. as unique individuals). Is there anything to be gained by using ads and other promotions in an attempt to portray sales/service representatives from one perspective or the other?

Emotions

Although Havlena and Holbrook (1985) have begun to evaluate different operational measures of mood states, further research in this area is needed. For example, Havlena and Holbrook did not have subjects respond directly to psychometric rating scales based on the different approaches to measuring moods. Instead, they had subjects write narrative descriptions about consumptive experiences. These descriptions were subsequently coded by judges trained to use the operational mood scales. Thus, as a follow-up to the Havlena and Holbrook study, it would be appropriate to investigate whether or not their results can be replicated if subjects respond directly to the operational measures. Also, Havlena and Holbrook only compared Plutchik's (1980) and Mehrabian and Russell's (1974) operational measures of mood. Westbrook and Oliver (1991) used Izard's (1977) typology as a way of operationalizing moods and suggested that other typologies might have yielded different results. Therefore, this operationalization of mood should be compared with the previous two to determine what similarities and differences exist.

A second aspect of emotion research that warrants further attention relates to an issue raised by satisfaction researchers. Woodruff et al. (1983) raised the question of whether satisfaction refers

to an evaluation of the product or an evaluation of the consumptive experience. For the purposes of the present review, this question is modified slightly to read: "When should research on emotional experience focus on the product (affective appraisal), when should it focus on the consumptive experience (mood), and when should it address both affective appraisal and mood?" The answer to this question would seem to be closely related to the issue of perceptual orientation. If consumers with an instrumental orientation do decompose services and experiences into component attributes, as suggested earlier in this review, then it would seem appropriate for consumer researchers to focus on affective appraisal. On the other hand, the holistic representation of experience posited for an experiential orientation would suggest that a focus on moods would be more appropriate. With respect to object centered perception, it is less clear which aspect of emotion should be addressed.

As a final note regarding future directions of emotional research in consumer behavior, the reader is referred to a recent review on mood state research in consumer behavior (Gardner 1985). Gardner suggests several possible avenues for future research that are not duplicated in this paper.

Summary

Approaches to exploring consumer-object relations have been grounded in two different views of human nature. The instrumental perspective characterizes humans as goal-oriented, analytical beings who employ objects as a means of achieving desired end states. In contrast, the experiential perspective views humans as experiential beings who are drawn to objects for their symbolic and affective qualities. This review posits that neither perspective is exclusively correct. That is, consumers are neither entirely instrumentally oriented nor entirely experientially oriented. Instead they are likely one or the other or some mixture of the two depending on the specific circumstance. Thus, although these perspectives are not incompatible, they are conceptually distinct. Because they emphasize different aspects of human nature, selecting one perspective over the other

has implications for the subsequent description of human-object relations. Therefore, it is important that researchers understand the differences between the two.

The rationale for emphasizing the experiential perspective in this review was that this perspective is used less commonly and is not understood as well. This review suggested that there are two major domains of experientially oriented research regarding consumer-object relations: research addressing the affective and symbolic meanings of objects and research exploring the nature of the consumptive experience. The latter domain has two major sub-topics: perceptual orientation and emotional response. Finally, this review suggested that the most important topic for future research based on the experiential perspective is perceptual orientation. This recommendation was made because this is the least developed of all aspects of experiential research and because this topic holds the potential for determining when it is appropriate to adopt the instrumental perspective and when it is appropriate to adopt the experiential perspective.

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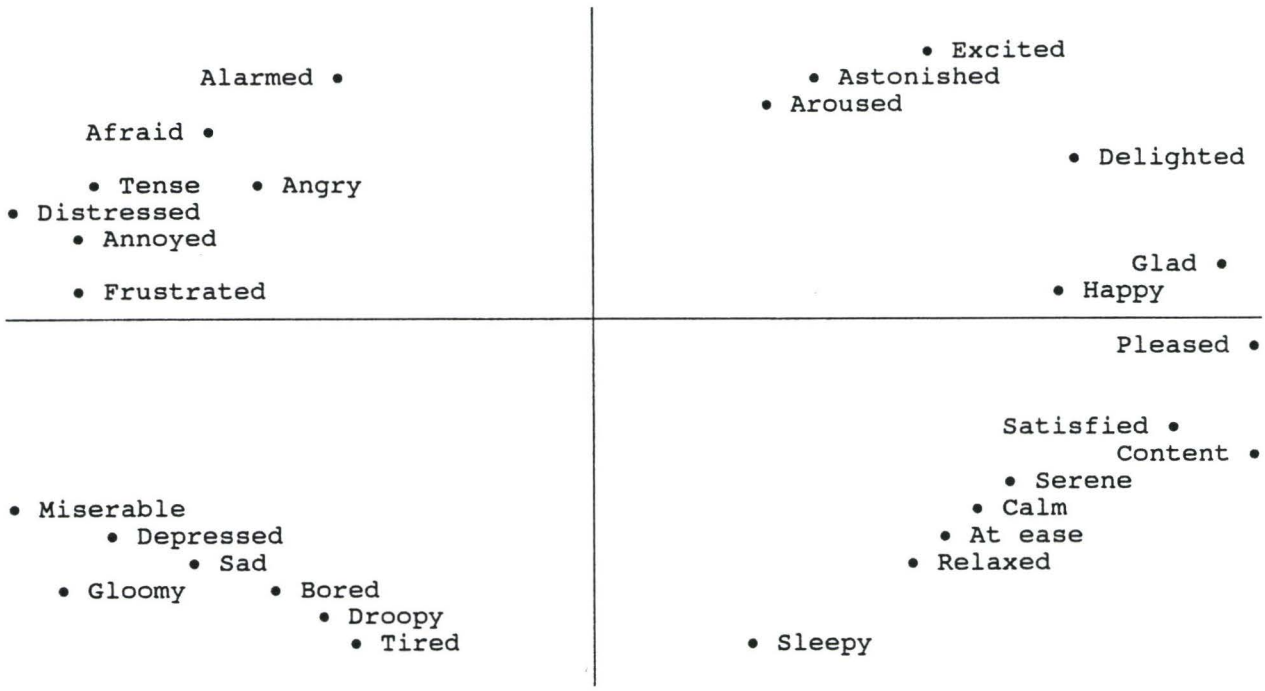

Figure 1. A bi-polar, circumplex model of mood descriptors (adapted from Russell and Snodgrass (1987)).

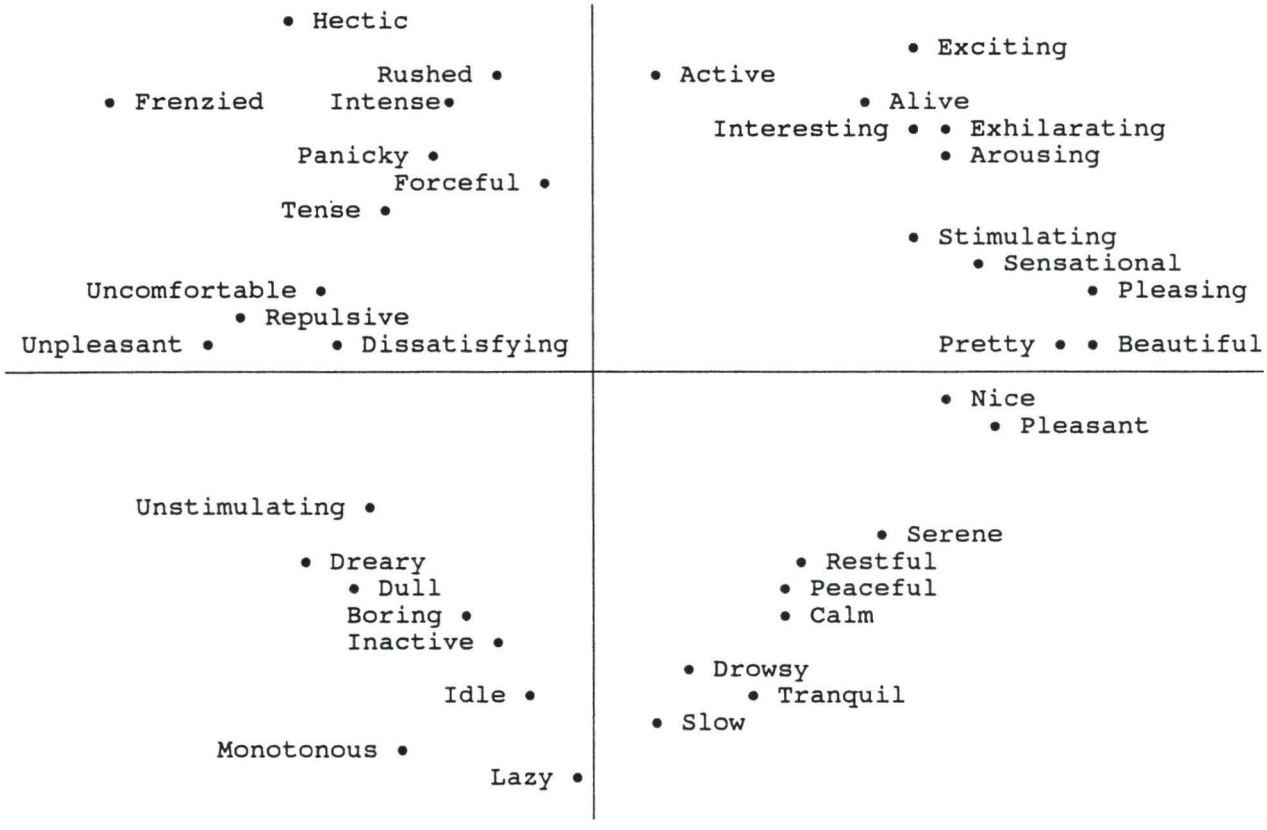

Figure 2. A circular ordering of affective appraisals (adapted from Russell and Snodgrass (1987)).

A TRANSACTIONAL APPROACH TO CHARACTERIZING RELATIONSHIP TO RESOURCE

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A persistent goal in natural resource-based leisure research has been to interpret and describe the relationship between wildland recreationists and the resources they use. The prevailing approach has been to characterize recreational engagements in terms of activities and desired psychological outcomes and then to identify the resource attributes necessary to support different types of recreational engagements (Williams and Roggenbuck 1990). This approach may be appropriate when people choose a recreational setting for instrumental reasons (i.e., because the setting facilitates certain goals or activities). However, recreationists also may be drawn to a resource for noninstrumental reasons such as emotional or symbolic bonds. For example, a backpacker may frequent a cherished site, not because of any physically observable attributes of the site, but because of an emotional bond linked to times and companions long gone. These latter dimensions of relationship to resource are not addressed by an approach that focuses only on resource attributes needed to support specific activities and experience outcomes.

The transactional world view, emerging from research in environmental psychology (Altman and Rogoff 1987), offers an alternative perspective for examining relationship to resource. This perspective is based on the belief that recreationists are not just passive responders to environmental stimuli. Instead, they are seen as actively creating their own reality by filtering external stimuli and attaching meaning to it (Ittelson et al. 1976, Knopf 1983). This type of meaning generation is viewed as a transactional process involving the interaction of personal characteristics with the characteristics of the environment being perceived (Ittelson et al. 1974). Based on this transactionist perspective, Williams (1980, Williams and Roggenbuck 1990) has suggested that two important descriptors of relationship to resource are attachment and focus of attention. Attachment refers to the degree to which strongly held functional and/or emotional meanings are ascribed to the place. Focus of attention refers to the intensity with which an individual focuses on different aspects of the recreational engagement.

The reason for adopting a transactional approach for exploring relationship to resource is that it may provide greater insight into common leisure research concerns such as recreation choice decisions, substitutability, recreational conflicts, importance of and preferences for resource conditions, and visitor reaction to management actions. The purpose of this paper is to evaluate an instrument designed to operationalize the attachment and focus of attention concepts. Specific objectives are to (1) evaluate responses to scales developed to measure attachment and focus of attention; (2) examine the relationship between theses descriptors of relationship to resource; and (3) examine the relationships among descriptors of relationship to resource and use/user characteristics.

Instrumental Versus Transactional Viewpoint

The instrumental perspective views the environment as a means to an end, a tool for achieving specific behavioral goals (Stokols 1990). Individuals are seen as engaging in recreational activities to satisfy one or more unmet needs (Mannell and Iso-Ahola 1987), and these needs are related to objective characteristics of the environment. This viewpoint corresponds to an interactionist perspective in environmental psychology. Under this perspective, environments and personal factors are seen as independent predictor variables and psychological functioning (e.g., satisfaction) is seen as the dependent or outcome variable (Altman and Rogoff 1987). Those using this interactionist approach seek to understand causal relationships between the antecedent variables and the outcome variables.

In leisure research, the strongest research tradition in this area is the work of Driver and associates on motives for recreation participation. Although Driver defined recreation as an experience (Driver and Tocher 1970), subsequent work following this research tradition focused not on the individual's actual experience of the recreational engagement, but rather on anticipated outcomes or cognitive judgments about the outcomes actually received (Mannell and Iso-Ahola 1987,

Scherl 1988). Thus, this approach should be seen as a telic theory (Omodei and Wearing 1990) that equates leisure experience with the attainment of expected and desired end states (Mannell and Iso-Ahola 1987).

Although this line of research has enhanced our understanding of the nature of leisure pursuits, the boundaries and limitations inherent in this approach are now becoming apparent. For example, recreationists' responses regarding motives for participation have been found to differ depending on whether they are measured before or after participation (Iso-Ahola and Allen 1982). Scherl (1988) pointed out that expectations may differ from actual experiences, and that both may influence the type of experience received. With respect to wilderness users, the package of motives identified has been found to be highly similar across settings rather than dissimilar (Stankey and Schreyer 1987). The primary motives tend to be similar whether visitors are in small or large wilderness areas and whether visitors are in eastern or western areas (Roggenbuck 1991). Further, the motives expressed by wilderness users often coincide with those held by other types of recreationists (Stankey and Schreyer 1987).

Unlike the instrumental approach, the transactional perspective is an autotelic approach (Omodei and Wearing 1990). That is, rather than viewing satisfaction and happiness as arising from the realization of some end state, the emphasis is on the process, pattern, and experiential aspects of the ongoing recreation engagement. The environment is not seen as a means to some end, but as a place which draws people because of its symbolic and affective qualities (Stokols 1990). Rather than defining environments, personal factors, and psychological processes as separate variables linked through antecedent/consequent relationships, this approach views these three variables as mutually defined, holistic entities (Altman and Rogoff 1987).

Transactional approaches are uncommon in leisure research. However, one example that has been introduced from the field of environmental psychology is Altman's (1975) concept of privacy

regulation (e.g., see Hammitt and Brown 1984). Rather than defining privacy in terms of an end state, Altman defines privacy as a dynamic regulation process in which the individual constantly manages the degree of openness/closedness to others as circumstances vary. This view of privacy is holistic in the sense that it incorporates the concepts of verbal, nonverbal, and environmental regulatory mechanisms as part of a unified process (Altman and Rogoff 1987). A second example is Tuan's (1974, 1977) concept of settings as inseparable confluences of environment and psychological experiences (Altmann and Rogoff 1987). This perspective has been introduced to leisure research through the work of Williams, Schreyer, and associates and is elaborated on below.

Relationship to Resource

Relationship to resource can be viewed as the meanings and symbols that individuals assign to specific geographical areas or conceptual categories such as wilderness (Williams and Roggenbuck 1990). According to Tuan (1977), undifferentiated space becomes place as people come to know it better and impart it with psychological value. Ultimately, individuals may form emotional or affective bonds with a place that result in a deeply rooted attachment (Tuan 1974). The process of forming this relationship to place has a number of dimensions. Recently, Williams and colleagues (e.g., Williams and Roggenbuck 1989, 1990) have suggested that two important descriptors of relationship to resource are place attachment and mode of experience.

Place attachment refers to the degree to which strongly held meanings are ascribed to a place. High levels of attachment can arise from either a functional or an emotional/symbolic bond with an area. A functional bond arises when an area provides opportunities to engage in specific activities. This is closely aligned to the instrumental approach in that the environment is valued as a means for achieving some desired end. Stokols and Shumaker (1981) has referred to this type of place attachment as place dependence. An emotional/symbolic bond results when an individual values

an environment for what it symbolizes or stands for (Williams and Roggenbuck 1990). For example, wild areas may symbolize our pioneer heritage or an area may have emotional meaning because it was a childhood stomping ground. At this level, places are tied closely with one's self-concept. This form of attachment has been referred to as place-identity (Proshansky 1978).

Mode of experience refers to the manner in which an individual interacts with the environment. Because a particular setting can offer different experiences depending on which aspects of the context standout and which recede into the background (Valle and King 1978), an important aspect of experiencing the environment is focus of attention. Williams and Roggenbuck (1990) suggest that the three primary areas to which attention can be directed are the activity, the setting, and the social companions.

Previously, Williams and Roggenbuck (1989) developed self-report items to measure the concepts of place attachment and mode of experience. These items were pretested on a sample of students from four universities and the results were presented at the 1989 NRPA Symposium on Leisure Research. Development of these scales has continued since this pilot test. This paper reports the results of applying the revised scales to a sample of actual wilderness users.

Methods

The data used in this paper are from a wilderness user survey funded by the Intermountain Forest Research Experiment Station of the U.S. Forest Service. The study area was the Cohutta Wilderness Area in northern Georgia. The wilderness area encompasses 37,000 acres. Annual use of the area is approximately 70,000 recreation visitor days. To obtain the sample, wilderness users were contacted at trailheads. Sampling was conducted in 1989 during those months which, together, accounted for 90% of all use. For each of these months, two weekend (Friday-Sunday) and two weekday (Monday-Thursday) sampling clusters were randomly selected. Within these clusters,

research assistants were randomly assigned to an area trailhead on a daily basis. On sampling days, two 4-hour periods (0800-1200, 1200-1600, or 1600-2000) were randomly chosen for sampling and all individuals entering or leaving the area at that time were contacted. The initial contact consisted of a short onsite interview that gathered basic use/user characteristics. Additionally, names and addresses were obtained to permit sending a mail questionnaire. A total of 440 visitors (67%) responded to the 12-page mail survey.

The survey addressed the concept of attachment at two levels: attachment to the Cohutta Wilderness Area (hereafter referred to as place attachment) and attachment to the concept of wilderness. Based on results of a pilot test (Williams and Roggenbuck 1989), 14 place attachment and 5 wilderness attachment items were included in the mail-back questionnaire. Attachment items addressed both functional attachments to resource (e.g., "I wouldn't substitute any other area for doing the type of things I did here") and emotional/symbolic bonds to resource (e.g., "I feel like this place is a part of me"). Respondents rated these items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1=Strongly Disagree to 5=Strongly Agree.

Mode of experience also was measured using multiple items. Individual items were statements regarding the degree to which users focused on either the activity, setting, or social group, and items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1=Strongly Disagree to 5=Strongly Agree). Each of the three possible focal points were represented by 5 items.

The survey addressed three other areas that are of interest to this paper: (1) use/user characteristics, (2) sensitivity to various wilderness conditions, and (3) availability of alternative recreation sites. Use/user characteristics examined were primary reason for choosing the site (a forced choice question in which the possible responses were: to visit the place, to participate in an activity, or to be with companions), primary activity, length of stay, group size, group composition, and zip code. Zip code was used to distinguish between locals (those living within a 50 mile radius

of the Cohutta) and nonlocals (those living farther away).

To address sensitivity to wilderness conditions, respondents were asked how important 19 different indicators of social and physical resource conditions were to the quality of the recreational experience. These items were rated on a 6-point Likert scale (1=not at all important to 6=very important). For analysis, these items were grouped into 4 categories (hiker encounters, horse encounters, sight and sound intrusions, and ecological impacts). Scores for each category were calculated by taking the mean of all items in that category.

Finally, the issue of substitutability was addressed by asking respondents: "If you would have found out at home that this area was temporarily closed, would you have most likely gone somewhere else this trip?" Respondents were asked either to indicate that they would have stayed at home or to supply the name of an alternative site.

The attachment and mode of experience items were factor analyzed using principal component factoring with a varimax rotation. Correlations among the resulting factors were examined using Pearson's correlation coefficient. Finally, discriminant analysis was used to explore the relationship between the attachment and mode of experience items and use/user characteristics, sensitivity to wilderness conditions, and substitutability.

Results and Discussion

Factor Analysis of Items

Factor analysis of the place attachment items yielded two meaningful factors (Table 1). The first factor, consisting of six items, reflects attachment in the form of an instrumental, place dependent relationship. Inter-item reliability for this factor was 0.91 and the overall scale mean was 3.38. Three of the items (enjoying doing the activities at Cohutta more than any other place, not wanting to substitute any other place for doing the types of things done at Cohutta, and believing that

Cohutta is the best place for one's activities) clearly represent the notion of place dependency. All three of these items also loaded on the place dependence factor in the pretest (Williams and Roggenbuck 1989). On the other hand, the satisfaction item which loaded on this factor did not directly refer to dependence on Cohutta as a setting for specific activities. We initially anticipated that this item would load into a third factor reflecting the general notion of place attachment regardless of whether the bond arose for functional or emotional/symbolic reasons. However, both recreation and consumer behavior research conceptualize satisfaction as a cognitive comparison between the anticipated level of product performance and actual performance (Williams 1989). Thus, use of the term satisfaction in this item may have implied a functional relationship which would explain why this item loaded on the place dependence factor. The final two items ("this place makes me feel like no other" and "no other place can compare to this one") do not seem to be directly tied to the concept of place dependency. It is not clear why these two items loaded with the other items in this factor.

The second place attachment factor included five items and taps the concept of place identity. The inter-item reliability coefficient was high (0.86), and the overall scale mean of 3.80 (Table 1). Four of the items ("I feel like this place is a part of me", "I identify strongly with this place", "this place means a lot to me", and "I feel no commitment to this place") clearly reflect the extent to which the place is central to one's personal identity. The first two items also loaded on this factor in the pretest (Williams and Roggenbuck 1989). The final item ("I am very attached to this place") was originally expected to load on a third factor representing the general concept of attachment as it was anticipated that both place dependent and place identity bonds would lead to attachment to the place.

Factor analysis of the wilderness attachment items yielded a single dimension including all five items. The inter-item reliability coefficient was 0.78 and the factor mean was 3.83 (Table 2). Two of the items in this factor (seldom visit other wilderness areas and getting more satisfaction out

of wilderness than any other area) appear to reflect the general concept of attachment rather than identity or dependence. The remaining items ("I feel like wilderness attachment is a part of me", life is organized around wilderness use, and choosing to live near wilderness) seem to reflect the more specific identity dimension of attachment.

As anticipated, the focus of attention items factored into three dimensions: activity focus, social focus, and setting focus (Table 3). The activity focus factor had the highest inter-item reliability (0.84) and an overall factor mean of 3.69. It included only the five items dealing with the amount of time and attention focused on the physical activity and skills involved in the experience. The social focus factor included the five items addressing time and attention directed toward interaction with one's companions. Inter-item reliability was 0.82 and the factor mean was 3.86. Finally, the five items loading on the setting focus factor all dealt with the wilderness users' desire to examine, explore, and discover aspects of the environmental setting. Inter-item reliability was 0.79 and the factor mean was 3.83.

Correlations Among Descriptors of Relationship To Resource

Correlations among the descriptors of relationship to resource are presented in Table 4. The highest correlation ($r=0.67$) was between the place identity and place dependence factors. We expected the two factors to be positively correlated because both are related to the more general concept of place attachment. However, the relationship was not expected to be this strong. In the pretest, the correlation between the place dependence and place identity factors was only 0.34 (Williams and Roggenbuck 1989). The higher correlation observed in this study likely reflects the fact that the place dependence factor does not cleanly tap the concept of a functional relationship. As noted above, this factor included items that appear to reflect the more general notion of attachment. Although both place identity and place dependence were positively correlated with wilderness

attachment ($r=0.49$ and $r=0.35$, respectively), the results suggest that a functional relationship to place is less likely to be associated with attachment to the concept of wilderness.

Both the setting focus and activity focus factors showed similar relationships to the three attachment dimensions (Table 4). All attachment dimensions were positively correlated with these two modes of experience, although place dependence showed a weaker relationship ($r=0.35$ and $r=0.31$) than did place identity ($r=0.44$ and $r=0.42$) and wilderness attachment ($r=0.43$ and $r=0.37$). The fact that an activity focus was correlated more strongly with place identity and wilderness attachment ($r=0.42$ and $r=0.37$, respectively) than place dependence ($r=0.31$) is contrary to expectations. We would expect that an activity focus would be more strongly associated with a functional relationship to place than with emotional ties to place. This is another indication that the place dependence factor does not cleanly tap the desired construct. The social focus factor showed positive but low correlations with the three attachment factors ($r<0.27$).

Within the mode of experience factors, an activity focus showed a moderately high degree of association with a setting focus ($r=0.55$). This may reflect the activity oriented nature of several the setting factor items (e.g., exploring the area). While a social focus showed only a low correlation with the other two dimensions ($r=0.19$ and $r=0.26$, respectively), the results suggest that a social orientation is somewhat more compatible with an activity focus than a setting focus.

Discriminant Analysis of Use and User Characteristics

The discriminant analysis was not meant to imply causal relationships between a dependent variable and a set of independent predictors. Instead, following a transactional perspective, discriminant analysis was used to examine patterns of relationship between use and user characteristics and descriptors of relationship to resource. The first user characteristic examined was reason for visiting the site. Two significant discriminant functions were found (Table 5). The first function

discriminated individuals choosing the site to be with friends from those visiting for other reasons. The most salient variable in this function was social focus (loading=-0.61). Individuals visiting the wilderness to be with friends were more likely to focus on interactions with companions. On the other hand, the function/variable correlations suggest that those visiting the Cohutta for social reasons were less likely to have a setting or activity focus and also showed a lower degree of wilderness attachment. The second function separated individuals choosing Cohutta to enjoy the place itself from those visiting for activities or social reasons. The most salient variables for this function were the two place attachment factors. Greater attachment to place for either functional or identity reasons was more likely to be associated with visiting Cohutta for the place itself.

Primary activity at Cohutta also was examined using discriminant analysis. Two significant functions were found (Table 6). The first function discriminated activities with relatively well defined goals (fishing and hunting) from activities with more ambiguous goals (sunbathing, picnicking, hiking, and nature study). The activity focus variable was most descriptive of this function; those participating in activities with well defined goals were more likely to have an activity focus. The second function seems to discriminate highly social activities from other activities, with the most salient dimension of the discriminant function being a social focus of attention.

The relationship to resource variables also were found to be related to length of stay (Table 7). The first function discriminated between day users and overnight users while the second function maximally discriminated those staying three or more nights from those spending less time. The first function was defined by an activity focus while the second function was defined by place dependence and setting focus. Together, the discriminant functions suggest that individuals spending less time in the wilderness are more likely to focus on the setting while those spending longer periods of time are more likely to emphasize the activity they are participating in.

Discriminant analysis of party characteristics (group size and group composition) each

yielded a single discriminant function (Tables 8 and 9). Maximal separation was between large, organized groups and those visiting the wilderness alone. In both cases, the most salient dimension was a higher degree of social focus in large groups. Also, the setting focus factor exhibited a smaller, but consistent role in discriminating party characteristics. Small groups had a stronger setting focus than large groups.

The final user characteristic examined was origin of residence. Respondents were divided into two categories: locals (those residing within approximately a 50 mile radius of the Cohutta) and nonlocals (those living farther from the Cohutta). The most salient variable in the resulting discriminant function was place dependence, with locals showing a higher degree of dependence than nonlocals (Table 10). Wilderness attachment and place identity were the other two important variables defining the function. In both cases locals showed a higher degree of these forms of attachment than nonlocals.

Analysis of visitors' choice of alternative destinations for their outing yielded a single discriminant function that maximally separated those who could think of no alternatives from those who thought of a wilderness alternative (Table 11). This function was defined by the place dependence factor. The more place dependent individuals were, the more likely they were to perceive that no alternative existed.

The final group of variables examined dealt with visitor sensitivity to a variety of wilderness conditions. The analysis of sensitivity to encounters with other hikers yielded two discriminant functions. The first function maximally separated respondents exhibiting the highest degree of concern from the respondents in the other two categories (Table 12). A high level of concern was positively associated with wilderness attachment, place identity focus, activity focus, and setting focus. The second function discriminated between individuals who were moderately sensitive to impacts from those who were least sensitive to impacts. Higher levels of place dependence and

activity focus were associated with low rather than moderate levels of concern with regard to hiker encounters.

The three remaining discriminant analyses each yielded a single discriminant function (Tables 13-15). In all cases, the functions maximally discriminated between those who were most sensitive to impacts and those who were least sensitive to impacts, and the most salient variable in the functions was wilderness attachment. Higher levels of wilderness attachment were associated with greater sensitivity to resource impacts. In the case of ecological impacts (Table 13) and sight and sound intrusions (Table 14), setting focus was the second most salient variable and was positively related to sensitivity to impacts. Place identity was the second most salient variable with respect to sensitivity to horse encounters (Table 15) and the third most salient variable with respect to sensitivity to sight and sound intrusions and sensitivity to ecological impacts. In all cases, a stronger emotional bond to the place was associated with greater sensitivity to impacts.

Conclusions

Typically in the past, leisure researchers have attempted to characterize recreational engagement in terms of antecedent/consequent relationships among distinct and separate variables such as personal characteristics, activities, desired psychological outcomes, and environmental attributes. Under this approach, the recreation experience is defined in terms of an end state. The approach taken in this paper differs in that it focuses on the actual process of the recreation experience and the meaning of recreation places to people. Further, rather than looking at cause/effect relationships, the study attempted to examine and describe the pattern of relationships among different aspects of the experience. This transactional approach is pursued because, ultimately, we feel it will be more useful in understanding issues such as why people go where they do, why people care passionately about this place and not some place "like" this one, why conflict occurs, and how users react to setting

conditions and management actions.

However, the transactional approach is still in its developmental stage. As Altman and Rogoff (1987) point out, "we do not yet quite know 'how to do it.'" This paper has been an attempt to evaluate the validity and sensitivity of scales designed to operationalize one transactional approach to understanding recreational engagements. As expected, the place attachment items factored into two dimensions (place identity and place dependence). Items falling into the place identity dimension had face validity in the sense that they seemed to tap the "self identity" concept. Further, the positive relationship between place identity and sensitivity to resource conditions as well as the relationship between this factor and local versus nonlocal users support the validity and importance of this measure. On the other hand, the fact that place identity played no role in discriminating between individuals who perceived a substitute (alternate) for Cohutta and those who did not name a substitute is somewhat troublesome. However, the problem may lie with the operationalization of substitution rather than the place identity factor. Recreationists were not asked if they could name a suitable substitute for the Cohutta, they were asked where they would have gone if the Cohutta had been temporarily closed. Future explorations of this issue should be phrased to address the concept of substitutability more explicitly.

Examination of the place dependence items suggests that this factor tapped the general notion of attachment to place in addition to functional dependence on the place. This was likely the cause of the higher correlation between place identity and place dependence observed in this study compared to the pretest. Problems with this measure are further indicated by the fact that it was negatively related to choosing Cohutta to participate in an outdoor activity and the fact that this item showed a relatively low correlation with the activity focus factor. Clearly, additional work on items designed to tap this concept is warranted.

The measure of wilderness attachment was tested for the first time in this study. Only a

limited number of items tapping wilderness attachment were used, so the fact that the analysis yielded only one factor is not surprising. The strong and consistent relationship between wilderness attachment and sensitivity to resource conditions indicates the importance of identifying the appropriate geographic or conceptual terrain that people form attachments to.

The focus of attention items yielded three factors (activity, setting, and social) as expected, and items loading on each factor had face validity. Also, the relationships between focus of attention factors and characteristics such as primary reason for visiting the site, primary activity, group size, and sensitivity to resource conditions further support the importance and validity of these factors. However, we found small variances and a high degree of agreement with most items dealing with focus of attention. Originally we viewed attention as a limited capacity resource and expected greater discrimination among users based on responses to these items. As a result, in the future we plan to test multiple paired comparisons (for example forcing respondents to chose between an activity or setting focus) as a possible means of increasing the sensitivity of this measure.

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Table 1. Factor analysis and reliability of place attachment items, Cohutta Wilderness survey data, 1989.

Factors and items	Factor Loading	Alpha	Factor Mean	SD
PLACE DEPENDENCE		0.91	3.38	0.85
I enjoy doing the type of things I did here in this place more than in any other area	0.82			
I get more satisfaction out of visiting this place than from visiting any other recreation place	0.81			
I wouldn't substitute any other area for doing the types of things I did here	0.78			
This place makes me feel like no other can	0.76			
This area is the best place for what I like to do	0.75			
No other place can compare to this area	0.74			
PLACE IDENTITY		0.86	3.80	0.73
I feel no commitment to this place	0.77			
I feel like this place is a part of me	0.76			
I identify strongly with this place	0.73			
I am very attached to this place	0.71			
This place means a lot to me	0.70			

Table 2. Factor analysis and reliability of wilderness attachment items, Cohutta Wilderness survey data, 1989.

Factors and items	Factor Loading	Alpha	Factor Mean	SD
		0.78	3.83	0.68
I find that a lot of my life is organized around wilderness use	0.84			
I feel like wilderness is a part of me	0.78			
I seldom take time to visit wilderness areas	0.69			
I get greater satisfaction out of visiting wilderness than any other recreation places	0.67			
One of the major reasons I now live where I do is that it has opportunities for visiting wilderness	0.67			

Table 3. Factor analysis and reliability of mode of experience items, Cohutta Wilderness survey data, 1989.

Factors and items	Factor Loading	Alpha	Factor Mean	SD
ACTIVITY FOCUS		0.84	3.64	0.67
I spent most of my time improving my skills in outdoor activities that are important to me	0.83			
I focused a lot of attention on my outdoor activity and skills	0.81			
I thought a lot about how I could apply my outdoor skills	0.77			
I felt good about how much I was able to use my outdoor skills	0.71			
I spent most of my time doing and thinking about outdoor recreation activites that are important to me	0.54			
SOCIAL FOCUS		0.82	3.86	0.66
I really enjoyed sharing the experience with my companions	0.83			
I spent a lot of time with my companions	0.82			
Spending time with my companions was the focal point of the trip for me	0.81			
I thought a lot abount my relationships with my companions on the trip	0.76			
The solitude of this place helped bring my companions and me closer together	0.58			
SETTING FOCUS		0.79	3.83	0.60
I spent a lot of time studying the features of the environment	0.79			
I spent a lot of time just exploring the area	0.79			
Exploring the place was a focal point of the trip for me	0.69			
I often stopped along the trail to examine the environment in detail	0.68			
I tried to learn as much as possible about the lay of the land	0.51			

Table 4. Correlation among descriptors of relationship to resource, Cohutta Wilderness survey data, 1989..

	Place Identity	Place Dependence	Wilderness Attachment	Setting Focus	Activity Focus	Social Focus
Place Identity	1.00					
Place Dependence	0.67 (0.0001)	1.00				
Wilderness Attachment	0.49 (0.0001)	0.35 (0.0001)	1.00			
Setting Focus	0.44 (0.0001)	0.35 (0.0001)	0.43 (0.0001)	1.00		
Activity Focus	0.42 (0.0001)	0.31 (0.0001)	0.37 (0.0001)	0.55 (0.0001)	1.00	
Social Focus	0.25 (0.0001)	0.26 (0.0001)	0.10 (0.0423)	0.19 (0.0001)	0.26 (0.0001)	1.00

Table 5. Discriminant analysis for primary reason for visiting the Cohutta Wilderness Area, 1989.

	Function 1	Function 2
Eigenvalue	0.33	0.15
Percent of variance explained	68.81	31.19
Canonical correlation	0.50	0.36
Wilk's lambda	0.65	0.87
P-value	$p < 0.001$	$p < 0.001$
Group Centroids		
To enjoy the place	0.16	0.66
To do outdoor activity	0.21	-0.29
To be with companions	-1.33	-0.51
	Variable	Variable
Descriptors of Relationship to Resource	Loadings	Loadings
Social focus	-0.61	0.08
Wilderness attachment	0.48	0.31
Activity focus	0.38	0.00
Setting focus	0.35	0.33
Place dependence	-0.06	0.81
Place identity	0.09	0.78

Table 6. Discriminant analysis for primary activity at the Cohutta Wilderness Area, 1989.

	Function 1	Function 2
Eigenvalue	0.23	0.12
Percent of variance explained	52.86	27.41
Canonical correlation	0.44	0.33
Wilk's lambda	0.66	0.82
P-value	$p < 0.001$	$p < 0.001$
Group Centroids		
Fishing	0.60	-0.07
Hunting	0.58	0.58
Camping	0.14	-0.28
To be alone	-0.22	1.17
Swimming/sunbathing, picnicking	-0.24	-0.65
Hiking	-0.31	-0.12
Nature Study	-0.77	-0.09
Descriptors of Relationship to Resource	Variable Loadings	Variable Loadings
Activity focus	0.71	0.37
Place dependence	0.22	0.10
Place identity	0.20	0.13
Social focus	-0.39	0.63
Setting focus	0.20	0.27
Wilderness attachment	0.22	0.27

Table 7. Discriminant analysis for length of stay at the Cohutta Wilderness Area.

	Function 1	Function 2
Eigenvalue	0.10	0.04
Percent of variance explained	71.07	28.93
Canonical correlation	0.31	0.20
Wilk's lambda	0.87	0.96
P-value	$p < 0.001$	$p < 0.003$
Group Centroids		
Day use only	-0.37	-0.06
1 or 2 nights	0.18	-0.14
3+ nights	0.35	0.55
	Variable	Variable
Descriptors of Relationship to Resource	Loadings	Loadings
Activity focus	0.84	0.15
Social focus	0.16	-0.12
Place identity	0.00	0.07
Place dependence	-0.19	0.53
Setting focus	0.24	-0.40
Wilderness attachment	0.02	0.07

Table 8. Discriminant analysis for group size of visitors using Cohutta Wilderness Area, 1989.

	Function 1
Eigenvalue	0.23
Percent of variance explained	84.75
Canonical correlation	0.43
Wilk's lambda	0.78
P-value	$p < 0.001$
Group Centroids	
5 or more people	0.29
3-4 people	0.16
2 people	-0.09
Alone	-1.75
Descriptors of Relationship to Resource	Variable Loadings
Social focus	0.76
Setting focus	-0.36
Wilderness attachment	-0.21
Place identity	-0.20
Activity focus	-0.17
Place dependence	-0.05

Table 9. Discriminant analysis for group composition of visitors using Cohutta Wilderness Area, 1989.

			Function 1
Eigenvalue			0.22
Percent of variance explained			86.53
Canonical correlation			0.42
Wilk's lambda			0.80
P-value			$p < 0.001$
Group Centroids			
Organized group/other	3		0.34
Friends/Friends and Family	2	check	0.06
Family	1		0.05
Alone	4		-1.75
			Variable
Descriptors of Relationship to Resource			Loadings
Social focus			0.77
Setting focus			-0.32
Wilderness attachment			-0.22
Place identity			-0.22
Activity focus			-0.20
Place dependence			-0.17

Table 10. Discriminant analysis for locals versus nonlocals using the Cohutta Wilderness Area, 1989.

	Function 1
Eigenvalue	0.08
Percent of variance explained	100.00
Canonical correlation	0.27
Wilk's lambda	0.93
P-value	$p < 0.001$
Group Centroids	
Locals	0.46
Nonlocals	-0.18
	Variable
Descriptors of Relationship to Resource	Loadings
Place dependence	0.89
Wilderness attachment	0.59
Place identity	0.52
Setting focus	0.34
Activity focus	0.15
Social focus	0.22

Table 11. Discriminant analysis for availability of substitute site for the Cohutta Wilderness Area, 1989.

	Function 1
Eigenvalue	0.04
Percent of variance explained	79.99
Canonical correlation	0.21
Wilk's lambda	0.95
P-value	$p < 0.050$
Group Centroids	
None	0.57
Wilderness	-0.15
Other	-0.60
Descriptors of Relationship to Resource	Variable Loadings
Place dependence	0.64
Setting focus	-0.12
Social focus	0.13
Wilderness attachment	0.13
Activity focus	-0.13
Place identity	-0.09

Table 12. Discriminant analysis for sensitivity to hiker encounters at Cohutta Wilderness Area, 1989.

	Function 1	Function 2
Eigenvalue	0.06	0.03
Percent of variance explained	68.46	31.54
Canonical correlation	0.24	0.16
Wilk's lambda	0.92	0.97
P-value	$p < 0.001$	$p < 0.040$
Group Centroids		
Not at all/Slightly	-0.27	0.20
Somewhat/Moderately	-0.04	-0.26
Very Much/Extremely	0.28	0.02
	Variable	Variable
Descriptors of Relationship to Resource	Loadings	Loadings
Wilderness attachment	0.68	-0.18
Place identity	0.66	0.45
Activity focus	0.64	0.58
Setting focus	0.58	0.28
Social focus	0.04	0.35
Place dependence	0.09	0.28

Table 13. Discriminant analysis for sensitivity to ecological impacts at Cohutta Wilderness Area, 1989.

	Function 1
Eigenvalue	0.07
Percent of variance explained	76.57
Canonical correlation	0.26
Wilk's lambda	0.91
P-value	$p < 0.001$
Group Centroids	
Not at all/Slightly	-0.33
Somewhat/Moderately	-0.08
Very Much/Extremely	0.31
	Variable
Descriptors of Relationship to Resource	Loadings
Wilderness attachment	0.81
Setting focus	0.68
Place identity	0.47
Activity focus	0.43
Social focus	0.41
Place dependence	0.16

Table 14. Discriminant analysis for sensitivity to horse encounters at Cohutta Wilderness Area, 1989.

	Function 1
Eigenvalue	0.06
Percent of variance explained	95.49
Canonical correlation	0.24
Wilk's lambda	0.94
P-value	$p < 0.007$
Group Centroids	
Not at all/Slightly	-0.31
Somewhat/Moderately	-0.04
Very Much/Extremely	0.30
	Variable
Descriptors of Relationship to Resource	Loadings
Wilderness attachment	0.72
Place identity	0.40
Activity focus	0.32
Setting focus	0.27
Social focus	0.27
Place dependence	-0.15

Table 15. Discriminant analysis sensitivity to sight and sound intrusions at Cohutta Wilderness Area, 1989.

	Function 1
Eigenvalue	0.11
Percent of variance explained	86.72
Canonical correlation	0.31
Wilk's lambda	0.89
P-value	$p < 0.001$
Group Centroids	
Not at all/Slightly	-0.43
Somewhat/Moderately	-0.05
Very Much/Extremely	0.36
Descriptors of Relationship to Resource	Variable Loadings
Wilderness attachment	0.67
Setting focus	0.62
Place identity	0.40
Activity focus	0.31
Social focus	0.32
Place dependence	0.07

IDENTITY AND THE EXPERIENCE OF WILDERNESS: ANALYSIS OF EXPERIENCE NARRATIVES FROM AUSTRALIA AND THE U.S.

by

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We argue that a long-standing goal in natural resource-based leisure research has been to interpret and describe the relationship between wildland recreationists and the resources they use. In general, research programs exploring relationship to resource center around two competing perspectives regarding human nature. The prevailing approach has been grounded in an information processing model which makes important assumptions regarding three key aspects of human nature: the source of well-being, the nature of consciousness, and the nature experience. First, this model assumes that happiness and well-being occur when specific needs or goals are met (Diener, 1984; Lofman, 1991). Second, as implemented in leisure research based on the concepts of motivation and satisfaction (cf. Driver et al., 1987), this approach depicts wilderness recreationists as rational, analytic, goal-directed individuals who evaluate alternative activities and settings based on objective properties to determine which will produce desired benefits. Finally, this model describes subjective experience as a predictable outcome caused by isolatable environmental and personal variables (Altman and Rogoff, 1987; Anderson, 1986). Thus, this model adopts a deterministic perspective in which the variability in meanings that emerge from the encounter between people and the environment is viewed as a stable and predictable phenomenon.

In contrast to the information processing model, the research described in this paper adopts a meaning-based model (cf. McCracken, 1987; Mick and Buhl, 1992) as the foundation for exploring relationship to wilderness. This model maintains that happiness and well-being arise directly from the nature of activity and from interaction with objects, places, and people rather than from attaining desired end states (Diener, 1984, Lofman, 1991; Omodei and Wearing, 1990). Rather than beginning with a view of recreationists as information processors seeking a package of benefits obtained through participation in a specific activity with a definite beginning and end, recreationists are viewed as participating in the ongoing enterprise of constructing a life and an identity (McCracken, 1987). People are not seen as passively responding to meaning which objectively exists in the environment. Instead they are seen as actively constructing meaning as they seek to create coherence in their lives. Thus, meaning is viewed as an emergent property that is actualized through a transactional relationship between person and setting (Mick and Buhl, 1992).

The goal of this paper is to outline a specific hermeneutic research program for exploring the relationship between recreationists and wilderness settings. Because many are unfamiliar with a hermeneutic approach to science, a brief discussion of its normative commitments is required.

Since Kuhn's (1962) discussion of scientific revolutions, philosophers of science have defined the appropriate unit of analysis for exploring a research tradition as its macrostructure (Anderson, 1986). This macrostructure is composed of normative philosophical commitments concerning axiology (the goals underlying a particular approach to science), ontology (assumptions about reality and human nature), and epistemology

(assumptions related to the nature, methods, and limits of human knowledge) (Laudan, 1984). Different paradigms or approaches to science are characterized by differences in these core commitments. Critical pluralism and other postpositivist perspectives in the philosophy of science emphasize the importance of seeking a fit between a researcher's perspective on the phenomenon being studied and the commitments of the research paradigm one uses to explore the phenomenon (Hunt, 1991; Polkinghorne, 1983).

Selection of hermeneutics as the normative paradigm underlying the research program described in this paper reflects the following philosophical commitments:

1. Attempts to understand the realm of meaning underlying human action are more like interpreting texts than like gaining knowledge of objects in nature (Polkinghorne, 1988; Olson, 1986);
2. Because human experience is mutually defined by the transactional relationships among settings, individuals with unique identities, and situational influences, experience is more appropriately viewed as an emergent narrative rather than as predictable outcomes;
3. One of the fundamental ways people construct and express meaning in their lives is through narrative discourse and story telling (Mishler, 1986a);
4. Narratives provide the basis for "a direct interpretation of a complex unit of social interaction, in comparison to the standard [research] approach where such inferences are based on decontextualized bits and pieces" (Mishler, 1986b:241).

A more detailed discussion of the ontological, axiological, and epistemological assumptions of hermeneutics can be found in Patterson (1993).

Goals of the Analysis

Traditional positivist approaches to science seek to make universal or generalizable statements on the basis of aggregate data. However, hermeneutic philosophy maintains that "if one puts individuals in groups before even having looked at individual behavior, it is clear that one will never learn anything about individual behavior; the results are about group averages ... or the nonexisting 'average' individual" (Terwee, 1990:132). While this suggestion is not completely new to leisure research (cf. Shafer's (1969) warning about the 'average camper'), the most common solution to this problem simply has been to look for characteristics by which to sub-aggregate users into more homogeneous groups. In contrast, the solution employed in hermeneutics is to begin analysis by seeking a detailed understanding of individual cases first (idiographic analysis) and then to combine across individuals (nomothetic analysis) at a later stage. Although many hermeneutic analyses do seek to provide a more nomothetic level understanding, the research presented in this paper focuses primarily on the idiographic analysis. With respect to substantive insights, the goals of analysis are to illustrate that wilderness experience and relationship to place, though not necessarily predictable, may be understood in ways that are managerially relevant and that a rich understanding of a small number of cases may at times be more useful (though not a substitute for) more generic and abstract knowledge that meets the traditional standards of generalizability.

Hermeneutic Research

Hermeneutic research entails two components: data production and data analysis. The distinction between these two reflects the fact that some hermeneutic research is based on the analysis of existing "texts" (data) which the analyst did not personally collect. The discussion below will focus on the hermeneutic analysis of open-ended interviews.

Hermeneutic analysis begins with in-depth exploration of individual interviews to

identify predominant themes through which narrative accounts of specific experiential situations can be meaningfully organized, interpreted, and presented. This involves: (1) establishing a point of view from which to begin analysis, (2) reading the entire narrative several times to gain an understanding of it in its entirety, (3) using this preliminary understanding as the basis for a deeper exploration of the "parts", and (4) modifying the understanding of the whole on the basis of the more detailed understanding of the parts. Tesch (1990) describes this as developing an organizing system that can be used to help determine what individual statements reveal about the phenomenon being studied. In this paper, the organizing system is based on the themes of claimed identity and current personal project.

Claimed Identity. Mishler (1986b) proposes that all interview narratives are a form of self-presentation filled with references to a particular self-identity claimed by the respondent. For example, an interview about an individual's wilderness experience may contain references to an identity linked to a culture structured around a specialized activity (e.g., rock climbing), an identity related to the social group in which the experience occurred (e.g., a concerned parent), or an identity related to more global settings characteristics (e.g., a wilderness purist). Given the importance attributed to identity in hermeneutics, one major objective of the analysis will be to identify the way that respondents express their identity through the interview and how this is related to their "construction" and experience of wilderness settings.

Current Personal Project. Hermeneutics also emphasizes the concept of projects rather than goal-directed behavior. The phrase "current personal project" is used to emphasize (1) the idea that human experience is an emergent narrative rather than a deterministically predictable outcome and (2) the concept of situated freedom in which people are seen as having the capacity to react in distinctively individual ways within the boundaries imposed by the social, cultural, and environmental background. Thus, in the following analysis, particular attention is given to identifying how people understand the current personal project they are engaged in and how this project is related both to their "claimed" identity and their "construction" and experience of wilderness settings.

Results

The first set of interviews comes from a study conducted by Lea Scherl for the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority. Lady Musgrave Island is a forested coral cay on the Greater Barrier Reef (Scherl and Valentine, 1992). Data collection consisted of on-site interviews that were tape-recorded and later transcribed. Interviews followed a standard set of questions consisting of 25 open-ended questions addressing issues such as the nature and meaning of the experience, perception of the setting, and opinions regarding management related issues. Below, excerpts from detailed interpretations of two interviews from this area are summarized.

Camper 105. The most prominent theme running throughout the interview was this camper's definition of the current project in which he was engaged: "escape." The meaning of responses to many of the questions in the interview become more apparent when interpreted with respect to this project. Many responses provide insight into his personal definition of what it means to escape while others suggest how his understanding of the project shaped his perception of the setting.

A second primary theme was related to the identity "claimed" by the respondent in the course of the interview - that of an experienced backcountry camper. This claimed identity was closely related to the project of escape. The opportunity for escape also was

linked to three other themes running through the interview: attention, convenience, and safety.

Escape - Attention. The attention theme has two subdimensions: captivation and intrusion. For this respondent, captivation represents the positive possibility of escape. It is the opportunity to experience stimuli he finds inherently fascinating, involving, and different from that typical of life in Sydney and is linked to a detail-specific, object centered mode of perception. In contrast to captivating stimuli, intrusions are a class of stimuli that represent the conditions this camper is trying to escape. Day trippers were particularly intrusive because they were not a part of the experience, but were more "like going to a glorified museum." The mere presence of other campers was not a problem because their mode of experiencing the environment was consistent with the nature of his project. However, because there was only one campsite on the island, he was sensitive to the proximity of campers. This influenced his preference concerning appropriate group size - he preferred large groups because they camped together and therefore took up less space than several small groups would have.

Escape - Convenience. A second theme linked to this camper's personal definition of escape and shaping his perception of the island was convenience. Although he wanted to escape civilization, adversity and the rigors of primitive life were not essential features of the experience. Additionally, he found the solar powered toilets "pretty fantastic." However, he had mixed feelings. He recognized that this added convenience also attracted more people, forced visitors to camp in close proximity, and increased the possibility of intrusive interactions. As a result, he was willing to sacrifice this convenience to preserve the opportunity to escape.

Escape - Safety. Although he wanted to escape civilization, this camper did not want to be entirely isolated from the sense of security it affords. His desire for safety defined the extreme boundaries of suitable opportunities for escape. This understanding helps explain why he found the presence of other campers acceptable. It also clarifies his response to an earlier question in which he indicated that commercial fishing was acceptable as long as fishing vessels do not remain in the lagoon. His opinion regarding commercial fishing, then, was not centered on the effect it has on the resource or the apparent discrepancy between commercial fishing and wilderness. Rather it was shaped by his desire to escape but not be completely isolated.

Day User 68. This visitor's current project is best described as one of enjoying the experience. His responses suggest the nature of the experience was inherently subject centered. Also consistent with a subject centered mode of perception are passages emphasizing various forms of sensory experience. In contrast to the detail-specific, object centered experience of the previous respondent, this visitor's experiences were more impressionistic and holistic in nature.

World Traveler. A claimed identity that was evident throughout the interview was the respondent's self-portrayal as a world traveler. This identity seemed to influence the manner in which he experienced Lady Musgrave in several ways. For example, he viewed the experience as a visit to another world. This perspective on the experience left him with a feeling of connectedness with the environment as well as a sense of wonder and awe. Ultimately this sense of awe and feeling of oneness is what produced the deeper meaning of the experience. This respondent's experience as a world traveler and his feeling of connection and sharing as a result of the visit also influenced his responses to other questions in the interview. When asked about his feelings regarding the size etc. of tourist operations

he thought a higher level of use would be possible if operators would only share and dove-tail operations. Also, relative to the previous interview, his narrative suggests a greater concern for the environment as opposed to a concern for the effect of setting conditions on his immediate experience.

The second pair of interviews come from a study conducted at Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area, a relatively wild undeveloped stretch of river in eastern USA. Data collection consisted of on-site interviews that were tape-recorded and later transcribed. Interviews followed a standard set of questions consisting of 25 open-ended questions addressing issues such as the nature and meaning of the experience, perception of the setting, and opinions regarding management related issues.

Interview 23. Two projects are evident in the responses throughout this interview. The first, most immediate project was relaxation. This project led to a subject centered experience, characterized by global impressions and an inward focus on thoughts, moods, and sensations rather than a detailed apprehension of the environment.

This respondent's trip to the river is also part of a more long term, life project that illustrates a stronger attachment to the place. For example, when asked to explain how the trip came about, the respondent began describing, not plans for this particular trip, but events that began over 10 years ago. The responses suggest that this long term relationship with the area was far more important to the respondent than events associated with the immediate experience on any specific trip.

The theme of claimed identity was less evident throughout the interview than the theme of current projects. However, an identity that is evident and appears to influence the nature of his experience is his role as a responsible father. For example when asked about what he is aware of during the canoeing trip he refers to his children. In part this arises from his concern for their safety. But, at the same time, watching their reactions becomes one of the high points of the trip. This identity also seemed linked to the one complaint he had about the management of the area.

> "They demand that we wear the life preserver, which I can understand, but its a little annoying ... since they're my tubes and I don't let anyone in them that doesn't know how to swim well."

Thus, enforcement of this regulation challenged his standing as a responsible father.

Interview 6. The current project for this respondent focused on the social context and the desire to experience family togetherness. This interpretation of the project is further supported by comments suggesting she did not play a major role in the decision to choose this particular setting and that, personally, she would have found other environments more appealing. In fact, the activity she participated in (reading a book) had little to do with the setting. At the same time, her identity as a concerned mother and desire for family togetherness did lend an instrumental component to the perception of the environment.

Discussion

Perception is a central issue in the management of wilderness environments for leisure experiences. In wilderness research perception is typically anchored in a reductionist, deterministic, stimulus-response model in which isolated stimuli presented out of their natural context are rated by respondents. Interpretive researchers maintain that by fragmenting the perceptual process, a reductionist approach artificially removes it from the complexity of everyday life (Wertz, 1983). As a consequence, responses to isolated stimuli in artificial contexts may not adequately represent perceptual responses occurring during the lived experience of leisure. The narratives from Lady Musgrave and Delaware Water Gap suggest

that perceptual experience is contextual, influenced by individuals' unique identities, their current personal projects, recent past experiences, and situational influences. For example, consider camper 105 on Lady Musgrave Island. Although he wanted to escape civilization, he did not oppose the presence of commercial fishing vessels. In his mind the vessels symbolized safety, not intrusive qualities of civilization. Also, outhouses were not out of place on the wilderness island because his definition of the project of escaping also emphasized convenience. Thus, his personal understanding of the project of escaping influenced his perception of the setting conditions.

The idiographic level of hermeneutic analysis is often hidden or glossed over due to space limitations in peer reviewed journals. This is unfortunate because this is both the most critical stage of the analysis as well as the stage most likely not to be accepted by those with a positivist world view because of its interpretive nature. However, while it is true that hermeneutic analysis changes the nature of interpretation in research and analysis, its proponents argue that it creates a more appropriate balance in interpretive responsibility between researcher and respondent. This is because "the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee ... create[s] the possibility of [interpretation] ... that is tested in the arena of open discussion" (Bellah et al. 1985:305).

Idiographic analysis provides an understanding of individual cases that serves as a suitable basis for determining when it is appropriate to aggregate or group responses. Nomothetic analyses consist of looking for patterns in narrative descriptions of experiences. Such patterns may range from relatively tangible management issues to more abstract and theoretical concepts.

In conclusion, hermeneutics is not offered as a substitute or replacement for past approaches to wilderness research in the leisure discipline. Because hermeneutics takes a different view of the phenomena to be studied (i.e., has different ontological assumptions) and has different axiological goals, it should be viewed as a complement to the existing approach to research. However, in recognizing that more than one approach to science legitimately exists in our field, we need to be more conscientious about evaluating our paradigmatic commitments and matching these underlying commitments to the phenomenon being studied. To accomplish this, we need to become more familiar not only with the philosophy of science, but also with the literature of those who study the practice of science.

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